THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

December 13, 1947

CNRRA AT WORK

AN EDITORIAL

In The Kuomintang Backyard

B. P. Schoyer

Loans—And Then What?

J. R. Kaim

Democracy Comes To Yunnan

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AN EDITORIAL

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Customs Inequalities

To The Editor:

Shanghai papers reported recently that as many as 13 persons have been arrested by military authorities for being involved in a graft case involving more than CNC$130,000,000,000, and that the arrested persons include three high-ranking officials of the Shanghai Customs (Appraising Department).

This case, which (according to newspaper reports) is being investigated by the National Defense Ministry and General Hsuan Tieh-wu's Garrison Headquarters, demonstrates again the urgent need of doing something to prevent further deterioration of the Chinese Maritime Customs, which used to be the pride of the Government.

If Nanking really means business, it should at once do everything possible to improve the hard lot of the Chinese staff of the Customs Service and remove the inequalities between the Chinese members and their foreign colleagues. It is simply fantastic that whereas a very responsible official of Chinese nationality receives something like CNC$5,000,000 a month, a foreigner of equal rank and seniority gets 10 or 20 or even 30 times that amount. For instance, Mr. L. K. Little, the Inspector General of Customs, receives US$2,800 a month in addition to quite a large amount of Chinese currency. It has been pointed out many a time that the rate of US$1 to CNC$3.33, at which the Central Bank of China, by order of the Ministry of Finance, sells US$2,800 to the Inspector General each month, is utterly inconceivable. There has been for some time the suggestion that, with the US dollars and pounds sterling paid to the foreign members of the Chinese Customs, real relief could be granted to all the Chinese members throughout the vast country.

Finally, I fail to understand why military authorities should interest themselves in a graft case involving civilians. In this connection, I would mention that Peiping's Garrison Headquarters have now given up their contention that they have jurisdiction over the Chinese students they arrested and that they have done so only after the press and prominent personages like Dr. Hu Shih and Professor Chow Ping-lin fought bravely on behalf of the students. It is hoped that Shanghai's Garrison Headquarters will follow the example of Peiping's and from now on refrain from dealing with civilians.

ANTI-GRAFT.

Nanking,
December 3, 1947.

Act Of Betrayal

To The Editor:

The increase in the number of political refugees from Shanghai to Hongkong, as a result of Nanking's outlawing the Democratic League, has intensified the Chinese intelligentsia's ill-feeling against the United States government. Non-Communist exiles, persecuted for their belief in the four freedoms, are losing their faith in America, whose ruling clique now has become the de facto accomplice of the Kuomintang in the latter's butchery of Chinese liberals.

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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Price per copy: CNC$15,000.

Cable Address: "Reviewing" Shanghai **Telephone: 14772**

PUBLISHED AT 160 CHUNG CHENG ROAD (EASTERN), SHANGHAI (O), CHINA, BY MILLARD PUBLISHING COMPANY, INCORPORATED UNDER THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF DELAWARE, U.S.A. REGISTERED AT THE CHINESE POST OFFICE AS A NEWSPAPER FOR TRANSMISSION WITH SPECIAL MARKS PRIVILEGES IN CHINA.

Contents of previous issues of The China Weekly Review may be found in the "International Index of Periodicals," copies of which are on file in most standard libraries.

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These exiles have brought down fantastic stories such as that General Chiang Ching-kuo has already represented the Generalissimo to confer with Stalin in person, that China's volte face against Washington will appear as soon as Nanking gets enough American arms and machinery, and that the Soviet Union is preparing to invade the United States in the coming winter through Alaska. Russian tanks would cross the frozen Bering sea and Russian planes would bomb American political and industrial centers. The United States in the coming war would be finished before she actually realized it. Like France in the World War II, the United States is alienated from her friends; its policy in the Far East alone suffices to indicate that she is committing suicide. The atomic bomb, like the Maginot Line, is the weapon that makes the nation which possesses it degraded and degenerated.

They also told stories of how the Kuomintang, relying on America's pistols, is terrorizing China and its people.

Because the British do not aid the Kuomintang as the United States does, the Kuomintang and the Blueshirts are tightening up the blockade of Hongkong. They instigate labor strikes; they are behind almost all movements detrimental to peace and prosperity in the Colony.

The most anti-Comintern liberals now appear anti-American, as America is helping to maintain a reign of terror in Nationalist China. It was said that the United States even gave consent to Generalissimo Chiang's warning Dr. Lo Lung-chi that the minute the latter attempts to leave China, his life will not be guaranteed. It is understood one exile in Hongkong, Dr. Lo's schoolmate at Columbia University, sent a protest to the Colony's American Consulate against America aiding and abetting the Generalissimo's terroristic agents, but the protest was turned down.

Non-Communist refugees in Hongkong are in the most desperate position; some escaped here without clothing, and have no friends or relations. Ridiculed by the Kuomintang and Communists alike, they do not know where their next meal will come from. They suffered because they wanted to be America's friends in fact and ideology; but in turn, America is just helping to persecute them. They shall perish one way or the other. Can America survive her act of betrayal?

HUANG FU-CHIN.

Hongkong,
November 30, 1947.

Pedalling Machines

To The Editor:

An article in the *Review* (Nov. 22) said that most of the experiments on mechanized agriculture in China assumed the use of tractors. It seems clear that tractors would be too expensive even if there were enough of them in the world, and that they would not suit rice patches or sloping ground, or not without elaborate preparations. Last year in London I heard some talk about pedalling equipment to use human muscles efficiently in areas where the draught animals have been killed off during the war. That is, you would have three or four men pedalling at one side of a rice field and pulling the plough by a rope, while one man walked with the plough as usual; then it would be pulled back by another machine to the other side. Chinese farmers are already used to pedalling machines for irrigation, and the machine could be loaned out to a number of farms in one village; the co-operation required only be local. Presumably, the machine would have to be based on long spikes driven into the soil of the next rice field near the edge, and this should not disturb the bank between

the fields. I do not know whether such a machine has been tried out yet; you might find it was too hard for one man to hold the plough down. But at least you could get an adequate supply of them, because they would only involve "light industry" and could be made by any bicycle factory. It seems a more hopeful plan than one involving the import of 1,000,000 tractors.

W. EMPSON.

Peiping,
November 25, 1947.

Elections Sabotaged

To The Editor:

As a devoted and sincere reader of your paper and knowing that you have a strong sense of justice, I would like to inform you of a dirty political trick occurring in our school, the National Central University in Nanking. I hope earnestly you will publish this letter so as to enable the reading public to see the truth of the whole affair.

The National Central University, like most of the schools, has a Student Self-Governing Body, which is reorganized every term by general election. The general election for this term was originally scheduled to take place on Nov. 22, but it was aborted owing to the underhand plot of some special elements among the students who adopted the stock measure that has been used repeatedly by their "comrades" everywhere in China to undermine the democratic student organizations.

There were two groups competing for the presidency of the Student Self-Governing Body for this term, one supported by the majority of the students, the other by the "special elements." As it appeared obvious that there would not be the slightest possibility for the latter to get a majority vote, its supporters, then, tried to leave no stone unturned to prevent the balloting. On November 22, when the members of the Standing Committee of the General Council of Department Representatives were busy preparing for the election, some 50 students came and cordoned the office room. They threatened to beat those members taking care of the election, under the pretext that they collaborated with one of the candidates and that they were, all of them, "Communists" and "Communists' tails." It was only through the intervention of many other students coming later to the scene that these rascals did not break through the door. But the scheduled election was interrupted.

An emergency meeting of the General Council of Department Representatives was called immediately to deal with the deadlock. After four hours' heated debate, a resolution was passed that the election should be held the next day in spite of all that had happened.

That night (Nov. 22), the office of the Standing Committee was ransacked by a group of special elements and some important documents were taken away by them. The next day the same gang attacked the polls and beat up the students in charge of the polling. Some members of the Standing Committee were severely injured and all the printed ballots were torn into pieces by the attackers who left the spot after having achieved their insidious designs.

In the evening of Nov. 24, when the department representatives were gathered in the auditorium to discuss how to punish the culprits and protect the election, our "special elements" again came around at about 8:00 p.m. One of them emerged before the representatives and roared insolently and threatened the representatives with gestures of violence. Suddenly, the electric lights went off and a crowd in black caps dashed into the meeting hall in the darkness, shouting "beat them up;" With clubs and other weapons

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they beat mercilessly those participating in the meeting. The state of chaos lasted several minutes; then the lights were turned on again and those scoundrels disappeared in a flash. However, when the representatives gathered again to carry on their discussion, the lights went out once more and the participants were once more attacked ruthlessly with stones and other weapons. As a result some of the students were sent to hospital for treatment and the meeting was crushed.

This is the kind of freedom of assembly we have enjoyed in the National Central University, the highest educational institute of China. Everyone can see the core of the game which is the inevitable result of the reactionary rule of the existing government. But we must strive for real freedom of assembly. Let those who really love freedom and democracy join with us in our open charge against the usurpers of human rights. We appeal to the people throughout the world for righteous support.

M. Y. L.

Nanking,
December 4, 1947.

Political Turncoat

To The Editor:

Thanks for printing my letter of November 3 on Bullitt's report on China, for I hate him like poison because of his being a political turncoat champion, because he is dragging America's reputation and position in China into hell and because he did not know what he was talking about.

CHINESE JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Chengtu,
November 28, 1947.

More English

To The Editor:

I have read the *Review's* English lessons in the past two issues. In the Nov. 8 issue of the *Review*, the stories related have, to my satisfaction, so much fun and humour in them that one could not but burst out laughting provided he did not fail to make out the sense. I traced the same topic back to the preceding copies that I had overlooked and enjoyed them too. It is, to be sure, of much help and benefit to English students. I would like to suggest that, if possible, this column be enlarged to contain a little more similar material which, I presume, would be agreed with by most of the readers and might even promote discussion concerning the advanced grammar which has not been so far covered in the present prevalent grammar books. I wish to be benefited by your frequent valuable favors.

PEI-LING NEE.

Nanyueh, Hunan,
November 27, 1947.

Delayed Salary

To The Editor:

Having anxiously waited for the *Review* for over a month, at last I was delighted to receive four issues at the same time this morning. However, among the four, the October 18 issue is missing, although the next one (Oct. 25) arrived. The absent one was either left behind or missed en route during the post conveyance. This reminds me of an incident which occurred about a week ago when some mails being transferred from Kwangchowan to Hoppo were robbed by bandits on the way. Perhaps the absent Oct. 18 issue happened to be among those mails. But how strange and striking it sounds that such a thing as mail-robbing should happen these days.

I have received your notice that my subscription to the *Review* has expired with the November 1 issue. I was thinking of sending you my renewal by the end of October, but the long-delayed paying of salary for that month prevented me from doing so. I am thus compelled to suspend my subscription temporarily which makes me feel rather bad; but I will send you my money order as soon as I get my pay.

SHUM KIA CHUNG.

Hoppo, Kwangtung,
November 22, 1947.

Proven Method

To The Editor:

As an ardent reader of the *Review*, I compliment you on the scope and context of articles printed therein. Of late, I have particularly enjoyed reports and letters written by Mr. D. Y. Lanne. His recent letter "New Platform" (Nov. 29,) suggesting at least two points which the National Government might add (or subtract) for the program of Austerity, shows his intense and patriotic desire to effect greater concentration by the people of China towards the successful termination of China's Civil War.

His suggestions are obviously motivated by his strict acceptance of Confucian principles — and I dare say that the elimination of women's "thoracic appendages and hirsute adornment" would, in fact, remove two (or three) of the greater temptations prompting mortal man to deviate from the Great Teacher's counsels.

Knowing our National Government to be wisely progressive in methods, and forgivingly understanding toward us mortal men, I feel it might be interested

"Via CGRA

Money may be the husk of many things, but not the kernel. It brings you food, but not appetite; medicine, but not health, acquaintances, but not friends; servants, but not faithfulness; days of joy, but not peace or happiness.

—HENRIK IBSEN

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Via GLOBE

in the teachings of a sage from a little known and doubtlessly inferior civilization—the Greek playwright, Aristophanes, and his ideas broached in his humble play "Lysistrata." A brief précis of the plot will recall the play to readers' minds. The action centers around the "home front" of a civil war not unlike our present conflict. Lysistrata the heroine, having called an assembly of the entire female population, proposes that all women should refrain completely from sexual relations with their husbands and boy-friends until the civil war be ended. The proposal is unanimously accepted. Following a scene or two during which soldier-husbands temporarily return from the front to the open arms of their wives and find a firm closed-door policy prevailing, the play concluded with a quick cessation of hostilities of the war and a resultant resumption of other more enjoyable and less hostile activities.

With Aristophones' "Lysistrata" in mind as a tried and proven method, I propose that the National Government ban all sexual intercourse between men and women of China until the Civil War be ended.

Naturally, such a ban will not in any way curtail the activities of the honorable officials of our worthy National Government—for are they not men of Confucian virtues, already bending their every effort toward fulfilling their responsibilities to the people? Yet, on the other hand, into those non-conforming men who are inclined to be led astray by curled hair and by sight of brassieres displayed in shop windows, my proposed ban will instill greater determination and more fervent zeal toward effecting a quick, decisive victory over the Red bandits.

Y. H. HO.

Shanghai,
December 1, 1947.

Austerity Note

To The Editor:

The Chinese Government has recently gone to great pains and efforts to drive home to the people the importance of austerity during the present national crisis. Campaigns have been launched to impress upon the nation the necessity of doing away with luxuries and eliminating waste in order to conserve national wealth. Though we, the lao pai hsing, can hardly afford to have three meals a day, it is hoped that high officials, who have accumulated great wealth during their incumbency of one high office or another, will refrain from their usual spendthrift indulgences.

It was somewhat a shock to us to read in the November 27 issue of the local *Cheng Yen Pao* that Dr. Sun Fo, Vice-President of the National Government and concurrently President of the Legislative Yuan, has spent CNC$600,000,000 for the pictures of his daughter's wedding held on November 20th; these photos were taken by a foreigner. Dr. Sun certainly beats all in this connection, whether in China or in foreign countries. Can you, dear Mr. Editor, tell me how much King George has spent on photographing the recent wedding of Princess Elizabeth?

Shanghai, H. W. LI.
December 1, 1947.

(Sorry, we can't. Such statistics haven't been released in Shanghai, as far as we know.—EDITOR.)

Unnecessary Nuisance

To The Editor:

Your piece 'On The Other Foot" (Nov. 8,) is quite interesting but the "exit visa" seems to be spreading all over the Orient, and with increasing discomfort and annoyance to travelers.

Recently I spent a month or so in India. Upon arrival I had to report to a police station in Calcutta and register, WITHIN 24 HOURS, and receive a certificate. The numerous forms, plus four pictures, were properly filled out and I was presented with an imposing document which permitted me to travel throughout India —and Pakistan—but with the warning that I could not depart from the country unless I had a seal or a chop placed on the document within 24 hours before departure.

Reservations on BOAC and Pan-American are difficult to obtain, as India is but an intermediate point, but CNAC always can give you a seat to China. The service is once weekly departing at 2:00 a.m. on Tuesdays. When cabled orders came to me to return to China immediately, I left New Delhi on Monday morning, arriving just after 6:00 p.m. in Calcutta. I went over for the exit visa to the local police station—but the place was closed. The CNAC people told me that their hands were tied and that they could not sell me a ticket without the necessary chop on the police certificate. If I could not obtain this before the 2:00 a.m. deadline I was licked and would probably be tied up in Calcutta for a full week. Fortunately the American Consul came to my aid and after two hours we located an Indian police official who could clear me out of the country.

Another correspondent who lives here with his family was held up because he did not have a visa for Hongkong—an overnight stop on the flight to Shanghai —although he had been assured at one point by British officials that it was not necessary.

Please do not think that I am taking China's part about this unnecessary nuisance, rather it is interesting to see how the Oriental bureaucracy has spread to the subcontinent—India—and to the Philippines.

Shanghai, JOE BLOW.
December 4, 1947.

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No Way Out

To The Editor:

It is rumored recently that half-lakh notes will be issued. We cannot, certainly, believe this, but the fact is that commodity prices are still soaring without restriction. In reality, the problem of inflation has much to do with the security of the country. Under the pressure of so high a cost of living, both the functionaries and workers can hardly support their families on their salaries and wages. What can they do? Steal? Rob? Rebel? Commit suicide? Isn't it dangerous if the citizens of a country are thieves, robbers, rebels and pessimists? Without the security of livelihood, the people are naturally dissatisfied with the government. How can they be expected to help the government wipe out the Communists?

If the leading officials in the government are really working for China, they should protect the people's livelihood by taking effective measures to curb the inflation. To issue big denomination notes, in every sense, is no way out.

SUN TZE-HSU.

Nantung, Kiangsu,
December 1, 1947.

More Harm Than Good

To The Editor:

According to the *Hsin Min Wan Pao* (Dec. 5,) a censor in the Sian Post Office by the name of Liu has confiscated enough photographs and pictorials to fill many trunks. He also often added "I love you, sister," (妹妹我愛你) to many a letter presumably written by a lady. Mr. Yu Ta-wei, Minister of Communications, is said to be paying special attention to this case. Besides instructing the Director General of Posts to conduct a thorough investigation, he is requesting General Hu Chung-nan to cooperate in probing the irregularities.

Some time ago words from Peiping said that postal censorship had been re-imposed in Peiping and Tientsin. Personally, I think this news was true. I don't know if censorship has or has not been re-imposed here in Shanghai. But if the authorities should one day find it impossible to allow letters to pass Shanghai's G. P. O. uncensored, I would advise them to bear in mind that incompetent persons like Mr. Liu in the Sian Post Office would only do more harm than good to the Government.

CURIOUS.

Shanghai,
December 5, 1947.

Surface Democracy

To The Editor:

I have read many reports about Japan and find that the Japanese government is not only undemocratic but on her way to Fascism. The Japanese police converted from the army are using high-handed measures to curb the democratic movement. It is no surprise, therefore, to discover underground Fascist organizations everywhere in that country.

General MacArthur just sees Japanese democracy on the surface and neglects the Japanese fascism at the core. There is an old Chinese proverb: "One who rears the tiger will be killed by the tiger." Japan is just a fierce tiger. It might cast the world into chaos again.

FEI LIANG.

Wusih, Kiangsu,
December 4, 1947.

Puzzled Reader

To The Editor:

I am a permanent reader of the *Review*. Now I have found a puzzling word "OPA" in your article "World Economic Crisis Approaching" (Nov. 8,); would you tell me what it means?

K. L. HSU.

Nanking,
November 30, 1947.

("OPA" stand for Office of Price Administration.—EDITOR.)

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THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW
密勒氏評論報
A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

The editorial pages present each week the opinions of the editor. The other pages of The China Weekly Review are written by the other members of the staff and the contributing editors who report and interpret the news irrespective of the views expressed in the editorials.

Vol. 108 Shanghai, Saturday, December 13, 1947 No. 2

CNRRA At Work

ONE of the more enlightening stories of how Chinese bureaucracy — in this instance CNRRA bureaucracy—operates has come to light with the exposure and punishment of an erring CNRRA official. This particular case, we believe, is not unusual. Rather, we gather, it is more or less typical of CNRRA operations. If nothing else, this example should serve as a warning to those who are to administer the post-UNRRA aid under the relief agreement recently signed between the US and China.

It will be recalled that more than a year ago the press and various officials pointed out to the public that Hunan, suffering from famine, was China's neediest province. It will also be recalled that UNRRA and CNRRA mobilized their resources to supply aid to the stricken people of this area. While stories of corruption and inefficiency on the part of CNRRA are legion, it now appears that as far as relief was concerned CNRRA did a poorer job in Hunan than in almost any other place. UNRRA is said to have recorded many instances of inefficiency and misuse of supplies by CNRRA's Hunan Regional Office, headed by a Mr. J. C. Yu.

The instance we are concerned with here is the misuse of 1,400 tons of UNRRA flour, turned over to CNRRA for relief work at Changsha. This flour, which was allocated in November, 1946, was specifically designated as being the first installment of flour to be paid workmen laboring on the Hunan section of the Changsha-Hankow Highway, a postwar communications rehabilitation project of obvious importance.

Instead of going to feed highway workers, the flour was used to bribe the newspapers of Changsha who since then have not only carefully avoided any adverse comment upon CNRRA but have done everything in their power to protect CNRRA from investigation or attack. Indeed, UNRRA, because it has insisted upon investigating some of the questionable activities of the Changsha CNRRA office, has been the object of bitter attacks in the Changsha press.

The flour was diverted from its original destination by the device of a phony petition in which the newspapers asked the Changsha Municipal Government for assistance in securing CNRRA help in erecting dormitories for the underpaid, starving newspaper employees who had no place to live. J. C. Yu's agreement to provide 1,400 tons of relief flour for this purpose was in itself a violation of the basic agreement between UNRRA and the Chinese Government. No matter how much one might stretch a point in reasoning, it is impossible to consider housing of newspaper employees a vital relief and rehabilitation project. The fact that newspapermen were involved and not carpenters, farmers or some other less articulate occupational group leads one to suspect very strongly that CNRRA hoped to secure a "good press" with this flour.

To make matters worse, the newspapers used the money they acquired by the sale of the flour to do most everything except build genuine dormitories for their poorly paid employees. There seems to be evidence that some of the flour was not even sold in Changsha, but was shipped back to Shanghai where the blackmarket price was higher. There also seems to be evidence that the editors of some of the papers merely pocketed part of the proceeds, while some of the money was lent out at usurious rates of interest. Eventually, it appears, the newspapers did some building of sorts, but in each case it is obvious that the first consideration was for office and plant quarters. Usually a few rooms were set aside in the attics of the buildings for a small number of employees, while most of the staff members continued to live at home.

A case by case examination of what each newspaper did with the money it received from the sale of its share of the flour makes most interesting reading. The *Chung Yang Jih Pao*, official Kuomintang organ, received 100 tons of flour. With the money obtained from the sale of this flour it built a two story building. The first floor was made into a printing and composing room, while about 30 employees were housed on the second floor. The *Ta Wan Pao*, which received 50 tons of relief flour, built a two story building which is used for housing purposes entirely—the manager and his family, and the families of three other employees. Hardly a dormitory for the paper's poorly paid printers and coolies! The *Sin Chiao Jih Pao* sold its 100 tons and built one new building to house its printing plant and renovated an old building it already had. It also was able to pay off some indebtedness on its existing property. It built no dormitory, although about 30 people now live in the expanded premises. Other papers receiving such help and which spent the money from the relief flour in similar fashion include the *Kuo Min Pao*, which received 100 tons of flour; the *Changsha Jih Pao*, 100 tons; the *Tao Kung Pao*, 100 tons; the *Chung Shing Jih Pao*, 100 tons; the *Shing Pao*, 50 tons; and the *Siang Kiang Wan Pao*, 30 tons.

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THE most damning part of the story is CNRRA's refusal to take any immediate steps to remedy this situation, although it was asked to do so as early as February, 1947, less than three months after the original allocation

and less than two months after the misuse began. The allocation was made in November, 1946. The misappropriation was started in December. In January, 1947, UNRRA discovered the situation and launched an investigation. Early in February, it presented evidence of corruption to CNRRA and asked for remedial action. March, April, May, June, July, August, September and October were occupied by the exchange of letters between UNRRA and CNRRA. UNRRA would request action and CNRRA would reply that it "was studying the situation," that it "had instructed the Hunan regional director to give an explanation," that "a letter of inquiry had been forwarded," and so on ad infinitum. Undoubtedly one of the best stalls on record since it lasted from March through October, a period of *eight months!*

It is this delay that is most difficult to justify. It would be a case of inexcusable negligence if CNRRA did not know of this misuse of supplies before being informed by UNRRA. The fact that it delayed taking any action after full knowledge would seem to make the organization and the top personnel guilty of *wilful* negligence. If CNRRA had taken action upon receipt of information from UNRRA, much of the flour, or at least the proceeds from its sale, could have been recovered.

* * *

HOWEVER, such matters eventually must be settled, even in such a bureaucratic jungle as CNRRA. In November, 1947, just one year after the beginning of this sorry tale, CNRRA proudly informed UNRRA that the case was closed since an investigation showed that the Hunan Regional Office had been in error in taking flour destined for paying highway workers and diverting it to a group of newspapers for the latters' private profit. Director J. C. Yu has at long last been punished. CNRRA has given him "one demerit."

Trouble In Taiwan

THE island of Taiwan, China, richest war prize, has again come in for a large measure of publicity which reached a new height last week with the filing of libel charges against the *Tieh Pao* by Madame Wei Tao-ming (Dr. Soumei Tcheng), French-educated wife of Taiwan's governor. Madame Wei, it appears, has taken exception to a series of articles appearing in the *Tieh Pao*, a mosquito or tabloid newspaper published in Shanghai by people who are reputed to be closely allied with the CC Clique.

The gist of Madame Wei's charges appears to be over the validity of the newspaper's charges that she interfered with various provincial bureaus, obtaining jobs for friends, ordering the dismissal of others, etc. Also, she took exception to some statements alleging that she used her position as wife of the governor to "squeeze" and engage in other forms of corruption. It is, of course, extremely difficult to evaluate the merits of either party's contentions, especially since the matter is now before a Chinese court. Chinese courts, as we are quite aware, are often staffed by individuals who take a very dim view of the press in general and especially of newspapers which comment upon cases, either before, during or after trial.

* * *

IT IS, however, no secret that the brand of administration at present being handed out in Taiwan leaves a great deal to be desired. A corrupt, rotten Chinese government gave up Taiwan virtually without protest some 50 years ago. The Japanese, who needed a half dozen years to completely occupy the island, even after it was ceded to them, eventually transformed it into a rather remarkable place. The Japs, exploiters that they were, worked out a "nicely balanced" economy for Taiwan. They developed its agriculture, mining and industry to a level that gave the inhabitants a higher standard of living than most other areas of Asia. The Japs, though, did this with a specific purpose in mind: The better to exploit the land and the people. They correctly reasoned that slightly literate, reasonably fed and clothed slave labor could and would work better. The end result was that the Japs put just enough into the island each year to sustain a high level of output. For nearly five decades the Japanese skimmed the cream off and shipped it back to Tokyo.

Following Japan's defeat and China's repossession of the island, the Central Government sent General Chen Yi to Taiwan. Chen Yi decided that the Japs were too easy going, so he did his best to kill the cow in an effort to sop up all the cream at once. Enough has been written about Chen Yi's iron fisted rule and the resulting revolt of nearly a year ago. Suffice to say, Chen Yi found a well developed, going concern which had attained a standard of industrialization and modernization which to China proper was only a dream and left a thoroughly looted, bankrupt land inhabited by an embittered people who are now actively anti-Chinese and whose standard synonym for "Chinese" is "Pig."

Wei Tao-ming followed Chen Yi and, upon arrival, promised the people good government, democracy and a great many other things. The record, while considerably better than the first post-war year, is still pretty sad. The economic figures for the past year do not indicate that Wei has done very much for Taiwan. Absolutely reliable reports from UNRRA officials, American official and private persons and Taiwanese themselves indicate that the economy of the island has gone steadily down hill during the past year.

While we certainly do not think that either Wei Tao-ming or his well known wife have done Taiwan much good, we are quite aware that all the blame cannot be placed upon them. Ever since VJ Day it has been Central Government policy to loot Taiwan. The island has been made to show a profit—and a handsome one—for the past two years. A portion of the profit has been dumped into the Kuomintang's war chest, while another portion—probably the major one—has gone into the pockets of various individuals who have been favored by officials in charge of the island's economy. With such a policy laid down by Nanking, even the best of governors and the best of governors' wives would not have con-

tributed much to the welfare and betterment of their subjects.

* * *

HOWEVER, we cannot accept the defence of his administration made by Dr. Wei last week in a speech before Taiwan's Provincial Council. First, it should be noted, Madame Wei's libel suit—nearly a month following publication of the "objectionable" articles—and Dr. Wei's statement more than likely mark only the public portions of a behind-the-scenes dispute between two or more Kuomintang cliques. Governor Wei, and his predecessor Chen Yi, are closely affiliated with the Political Science clique, the faction to which Premier Chang Chun belongs, while the impetus of the recent public attacks on Wei and his wife appears to come from circles close to the CC Clique. However, since the whole mess has come up for public airing, it is just as well that we examine the record.

Governor Wei led off his speech, according to his propaganda department's official release, by saying that the recent reports and rumors *attacking Taiwan* are part of an international strategy to stir up world opinion and sentiment against China so that she would be forced to give up her rightful possession of Taiwan. He also stated that the chief sources of these rumors were Communist and foreign publications. Now, if the good Governor had been reading these "reports and rumors" he would know full well that no one has attacked Taiwan. Rather, it is the Governor, himself, who is under fire. A very poor attempt to identify himself with the Taiwanese people, we would say. Further, his assumption that the purpose of the reports and rumors was to disengage Taiwan from China is not quite correct, especially if he says the Communist press is responsible. If the Governor followed the Communist line he would know that Moscow has been charging the United States with attempting such a separation. Furthermore, we note that China's Communist line is quite nationalistic when it comes to places such as Hongkong, Taiwan, etc. The Communists may be blamed for a lot of things, but they certainly can't be accused of wishing to give away any territory!

Dr. Wei then said that he believed that these rumors were part of a systematic planning, first against him, then his family, then the provincial government and then against the Taiwanese. Dr. Wei proceeded to cite examples which, he claimed, proved "'systematic planning." People, he said, were comparing Chen Yi with a tiger and himself (Wei) with a hyena. His wife, he said, had been falsely accused of monopolizing the island's trade, his administration had been called corrupt. The examples he cited as attacks upon the Taiwanese were that they were being oppressed, that they were dying of starvation and that they wished that the Japs would come back.

Dr. Wei continued with a few more "brilliant" passages like the foregoing until he came to what was apparently really bothering him: The question of the Japanese Peace Treaty. At that time China's possession of Taiwan must be formalized, and it would seem that both Wei and Nanking are looking to the raising of the Taiwan question with some apprehension.

According to the propaganda release, Dr. Wei thought:

"With regard to the coming Peace Conference for Japan, Dr. Wei said that although there are still certain Far Eastern problems to be solved, the status of Taiwan should not and must not be brought up as a question for discussion at the said conference because, legally and historically speaking, Taiwan is Chinese territory and should be returned to China as has already been agreed upon by the three great powers at Cairo. This agreement will be fully supported by China as well as by Taiwan's 6,000,000 people."

From our observations, both first and second hand, we would guess that Dr. Wei's last sentence is open to considerable doubt. We would also guess that what is really worrying Dr. Wei is that if a big enough stink is raised about his misgovernment someone at the peace conference might say something to the effect that only those fit to govern should govern. Such an idea would certainly embarrass Nanking, which for some time now has been having considerable difficulty in governing properly, both on the mainland and in Taiwan.

* * *

THE only people who want Taiwan separated from China are the Taiwanese who have about got their bellies full of "mainland" oppression and thievery. The United States is on record as flatly favoring permanent Chinese possession of Taiwan. Britain feels the same way. Russia, as far as we know, has not commented, but presumably has not raised any objections. The Japs can't object very much. Certainly China —both Kuomintang and Communist—favor retention of Taiwan. The only reason we can see for Wei's outburst is his desire to take the spotlight off his administration before the light becomes too revealing. If he can sufficiently identify himself with the Taiwanese people so as to pass along attacks upon him as attacks upon the *people* and if he can then blame these attacks upon the Communists and foreigners who want to take Taiwan away from China, he may be able to raise a dense enough smoke screen to hide the evils of government and the sadness of life in Taiwan.

Red-baiting, A Dangerous Game

RED-BAITING and name-calling seem to be quite the fashion these days in China and other countries all over the world. An old proverb says: "Give a dog a bad name and hang him." This bad name, now most popularly used, is "Communist," "Communist agent," "Communist agitator," "fellow traveler" or any other designation that has something to do with Communism. To pin a Communist label on your opponents, critics or any guys you don't like appears to be the easiest way to get rid of them. The red-baiters, it would seem, are perfectly satisfied with the wonderful results this trick has produced and fail to realize its political consequences.

When Chinese students called strikes to protest against the Civil War, against illegal arrests

of professors and students or to demand more food subsidies, they were accused of being led by the nose by the Communists to create disturbances or even to plot the overthrow of the National Government. When students in Peiping, Shanghai and Kunming started a donation-collecting drive in an effort to raise funds to help their poor fellow students, their campaign was banned and their leaders were arrested on the ground that they were collecting money to help the Communist rebellion. Recently, a good number of students were arrested throughout the country on charges of being "Communists" or "Communist agents."

When professors at China's leading universities issued public statements to express their sympathy and solidarity with the student movement and protest against police brutality and political persecution, they were told to shut up and not to allow themselves to be used as Communist tools. Scores of popular professors were summarily "fired" and many others warned to mind their p's and q's and refrain from burning their fingers.

When starved people, unable to buy rice, broke into rice shops and infuriated mobsters started looting, they were branded as Communist-led rice rioters who were purposely breaking law and order and were dealt with as such. Many people were arrested and shot in Chengtu and Wusih for participating in rice riots.

When factory workers and office clerks staged demonstrations and went on strike to demand the unfreezing of the cost-of-living index, they were accused of being utilized by Communists to create trouble and embarrass the Government. Many strikers were arrested and fired.

When street hawkers in Shanghai resisted police orders to clear off the streets in a desperate fight to make a living, they were denounced as being under the leadership of Communist organizers. Thanks to the tactful handling of the highly explosive situation by the local government and military authorities, the bloody incident was quickly settled and a disaster averted.

Independent newspapers in Shanghai, Chungking and elsewhere were sealed and their editors and reporters arrested, on allegations of "printing malicious and false stories to help the Communist rebellion and attack the National Government."

In short, whenever and wherever there was a mass movement which was not sponsored or controlled by the Government or by Government-dominated organizations, the Government authorities always suspected that Communists or Communist agents were doing the wire-pulling behind the scenes. The ringleaders of such movements were invariably taken for Communists or Communist fellow travelers and dealt with accordingly.

It is of course extremely difficult for us outsiders to judge to what extent the Government's charges were based on fact. However, it is generally held in well-informed circles that the charges in most cases were grossly exaggerated. Most qualified observers are agreed that the Government authorities are inclined to play up the Communist scare as an excuse for taking drastic and high-handed measures to stamp out any mass movement or disturbance that they think is anti-Government.

* * *

RED-BAITING is, however, a double-edged weapon. The Government authorities may have in it a ready and convenient excuse for dealing with any unpleasant situation, but they must also understand that it is a highly dangerous weapon, which, if amateurishly handled, may hurt the user himself. In the words of an American writer, "you may kick around the word Communism and use it as a club whenever that seems expedient. But you will feel sorry some day to find that it often comes home to roost."

To fight Communism is no easy job. It is all very well to talk glibly and eloquently about up rooting Communism and wiping out the Chinese Reds in three or six months. But if all this nice talk is to mean business and not designed to serve diplomatic bargaining purposes only, then the fight must be planned and carried out in accordance with accepted principles of strategy and tactics.

Best strategy, political as well as military, requires the isolation of the enemy and the expansion of one's own strength in order to win a victory with the least possible sacrifice. In order to attain this objective, it is vitally important to win over as many allies, sympathizers, benevolent neutrals and well-wishers as possible and use divide-and-conquer tactics against the enemy. In other words, when fighting a war, whether it be political or military, it is absolutely necessary to win more friends and make fewer enemies.

Instead of isolating the Chinese Communists and winning friends and sympathizers for the Government, the practice of the Government authorities to treat as Communists all anti-Government elements, regardless of their political views, has had the disastrous effect of isolating the Government and driving more and more people into the arms of the Chinese Communists. True, the Communists are anti-Government. But anti-Government elements are not necessarily Communists or Communist agents. On this point, Bert Brandt, NEA staff correspondent, who recently made an on-the-spot investigation in Manchuria and North China, had something interesting to say.

"At Yencheng University I talked to students and professors representing a variety of political viewpoints. None wanted his name used because of the Government's activities against those who are openly anti-Nationalist. The Government brands all such people as 'radicals' or 'Communists,' and keeps an especially close watch on the student leaders...

"One student, who admitted privately to believing in the Communist party line, said he doubted if more than eight percent of the 924 students at the university could be classified as Communists. About an equal number are definitely anti-Communist. The great majority of the students are plainly and simply anti-Government, opposed to the corrupt, inefficient Nationalist administration. The middle-of-the-road students I talked to told me: 'It is not that we want Communism or believe in it. It is just

that we want a change and we want it with all our hearts. If something is not done soon to correct the current conditions in the Government many of these people who merely want a change will begin looking toward Communism as the only possible way of getting that change.'"

Far away in Fushun, Manchuria, an industrial executive told Brandt: "Many people fighting on the Communist side are not in accord with Soviet policy but are only using this as a method to protect themselves from the corruption and graft of the Nationalist administration."

It is clear to all experienced observers that there is still some distance between the Communists and other anti-Government groupings. Nanking's policy of regarding all anti-Government elements as Communists or Communist agents simply increases the Communists' friends and allies and makes more enemies for the Government. This is poor political strategy.

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IT is of course true that the Communists are only too glad of any chance of stirring up trouble to add to the Government's difficulties. But it is bad policy to suspect and suppress all mass movements other than those sponsored by the Government, without taking the trouble to find out whether the demands of movements are reasonable. In our opinion, if the demands are reasonable the Government should accept them even if they are raised by the Communists. It is only by satisfying the reasonable demands of the people that the Government can hope to enlist the sympathy and support of the people in their fight with the Communists. Therefore we fail to see any reason why the donation-collecting drive among the students should have been banned. To suppress such movements only serves to convince the students that the Government is against them and that the Communists are fighting for their interests.

On the one hand, it is stressed that the Chinese Communists do not have the backing of the Chinese people, that they are sacrificing the interest of the people for their private selfish ends and that the Government really represents the interests and welfare of the people. But on the other hand, it is charged that students and factory workmen were "utilized" by a small number of Communists and Communist agents to fight for more food subsidies and higher wages. This line of propaganda is really bewildering and confusing. If the Chinese Communists had no popular support they could not have succeeded in "instigating" nation-wide student strikes in a couple of days. If the student movement was sponsored and dominated by the Communists, then the Reds must have some backing. So the truth must be either the Chinese Communists have some sort of popular support or the nation-wide student movement was not instigated by the Communists. In either case, red-baiting backfired.

What's much worse is the curtailment of people's political liberties and the suppression of the people's lawful and reasonable demands for change and reform under the pretext of fighting Communism. This kind of red-baiting has done the Government a great deal of serious harm. Now that Nanking's leaders are stressing the necessity for bringing politics into play in the present life-and-death struggle with the Chinese Communists they would do well to consider whether it is a wise policy to silence all critics and dispose of anti-Government elements by branding all of them as Communists or Communist agents, thereby increasing possible friends and comrades-in-arms for the Chinese Communists and swelling potential enemies for the Government.

25 Years Ago In The *Weekly Review Of The Far East*

In The Hands Of The Few

December 9, 1922.

DR. Sun Yat-sen, replying to questions in an interview with John Brailsford, said: "My aim is to get the workers recognized as people of some account in the community. Hitherto they have had no influence at all in the political life of China. They have been looked upon as servants, unworthy to have a voice in public affairs. I believe that by their influence the public life of the country will be enriched." Replying to a question as to the danger of increasing tyranny by placing economic as well as political power in the hands of political leaders, Dr. Sun said: "As long as man is man and has an inherent greed for power this danger of tyranny will always be present. But I think the conduct of industry by the State tends rather to a fairer distribution of wealth. Under the present system, you have vast wealth concentrated in the hands of the few, and on the other hand you have the vast problem of poverty."

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Militarism In Control

WANG Chung-hui and Wellington Koo have been impeached and driven from office. The old guard of militarists have outwitted the younger men and have achieved their retirement ...Their impeachment means much to China. It means that militarism is still in control of the capital...What nation will trust the China of arrests by mandate, of this dismissal of competent ministers by military clique, of revived incompetence or rejuvenated corruption?

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Il Duce's Advice

December 11, 1937.

A hint that China had better appeal to Japan for peace while she can still get good terms is given in an unsigned article in Signor Mussolini's newspaper, *Il Popolo d'Italia*. Understood to have been written by Il Duce himself, the article says that if China still believes in any assistance of a collective character, it means that she has vowed herself to suicide, "for clearly Japan will win all battles and compel China to surrender." Now that collective action has again failed, the article proceeds, all that remains for China is to ask Japan for peace terms which may be less hard than she may have thought. In view of recent contacts between Signor Mussolini and distinguished Japanese visitors, it is thought that this hint may be politically significant.

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Not A Single Blade

VERNACULAR newspapers in Nanking of which only two "mosquito sheets" remain, on Dec. 4 carried leading articles urging the Chinese to disregard the Nanking safety zone plan. "They should follow the accepted policy of sending women, children and the aged beyond the military zones leaving only the ablebodied men to fight," the article said. Chinese soldiers were urged to pursue the "scorched earth" policy of leaving "not a single blade of grass to support Japanese life."

In The Kuomintang Backyard

B. P. Schoyer

ONE doesn't hear much of what is happening in the National Government areas back of Nanking—Hunan, Kiangsi, Fukien, Chekiang. This is peaceful country, undisturbed by war, and not so far from Nanking as to be prey to irregular activity, or even much irregular thinking. It is generally recognized as respectable, solid Kuomintang territory, and one of a few China areas where considerable reconstruction and return to more prosperous times might be expected. In fact, in this area especially, one would think it imperative that the Government push all manner of reconstruction in the interest of building up the confidence and enthusiasm necessary to win the people's wholehearted support of the Civil War. For this is a backbone and rice-bowl area of great importance.

It has become obvious to a point of triteness that the war in China is not a military struggle alone, nor an ideological struggle, but primarily a struggle to capture the imagination of the Chinese people. A case in point that I recall is an incident that occurred in Chekiang in 1945. A column of Communists attacked a Government division by the almost Biblical strategem of gassing the unsuspecting regulars with the smell of their cookpots, while announcing the variety and frequency of their menus. Half the ill-fed division joined the Communists and the remnants crept away without firing a gun. This in simplest terms is the way to capture the imagination of the Chinese people. And to win the Civil War this imagination must be captured.

Revolution Obscured

To understand this one needs to understand the Chinese Revolution. One rarely hears it mentioned these days. Perhaps it has been going on too long, perhaps it is too familiar—like the air—to be observable to most of us, or is obscured by more immediate events. But it is still rumbling away, very much alive: its source the Chinese people, its nature their wish for reasonable opportunity, for the protection of human rights, for a fair share of their earth and the produce of their own sweat. This mass social urge has been recognized by the Communists; and whether this recognition is merely exploitation or not, it is the major factor in their success. The Government and the Kuomintang, however, have appeared largely indifferent, or even in opposition to this social will. And that is where they have failed; and if they continue so to fail, they can only follow the path of Yuan Shih-kai and his warlord posterity.

With these sombre thoughts in mind I was eager to see the peaceful interior areas at the rear of Nanking, as I felt they would represent a gauge of Government activity at its best, and also a gauge to Nanking's survival value. Flying to Wuchang in Hupeh, I spent a month bumping along by bus and train through the Nanking backyard, back to Shanghai.

The writer of this article has spent many years in China, especially in the Central China area where he taught at Yale in China at Changsha for some time before the war. He is also the author of two books on China. One, *The Foreigners*, published before the war, detailed the experiences of a young American in a Central China city, while the other, *The Indefinite River*, published just last month, concerns the activities of an American in the interior of China during the war. The writer will be remembered in Shanghai as the Major Schoyer who headed the first American mission to this city following VJ Day.

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WUCHANG appears prosperous, and certainly is among China's most sanitary cities. But its economic health is not good. It shares with its sister cities of Hankow and Hanyang the unhappy lack of shipping that has marked Yangtze commerce since the War's end. And any windy day will even cut off communication between the cities, for the local government ferry service lacks adequate equipment and funds.

Leaving Wuchang by train one travels over one of the country's really impressive reconstructive jobs, the Canton-Hankow Railway. But as a railway man pointed out, it would have more value if the Government took constructive steps to increase shipping facilities on the Yangtze. On the train was a Government official of some prominence. When questioned as to what the Government was doing in the area, he shook his head bitterly. "You know, the more aid you Americans send to China," he said, "the more my people suffer. It is the Government's fault. But what to do about it? Vote for new officials? No, no—it is no use. It is all fixed. I know these people very well, and they can all go to hell."

Appearances Deceptive

In Changsha, the capital of Hunan, there was much rebuilding. Logs filled the Hsiang River. But as in Wuchang, appearances were deceptive. Local money that had lost its normal outlets was going into houses. Lack of government aid in reconstruction, poor communications, official corruption and government red tape are holding back recovery. A once wealthy business man told me that if various business interests he knew were able to get foreign exchange, they could raise funds for the purchase of some US$20,000,000 worth of much needed industrial equipment. As it was the money was largely lying idle. I suggested that his friends might lend it to their Government which was so desperately trying to borrow money from the United States. Quite solemnly he made it clear that no sensible Chinese business man would take such a risk.

Northeast of Changsha is one of the worst Japanese devastated areas. Last year taxes in rice were 50 percent and more, despite the fact that the farmers were starving and the raising of the crops had been an heroic job, for few of the farmers had so much as a roof over their heads and almost no tools but their hands. This rice levy was never collected. Instead it caked and went bad lying in the government storehouses while the farmers continued to starve. Eventually, the storehouses were opened and the little rice that hadn't caked was scraped off the top and sold back to the local people at profiteering prices. This year there has been a similar grain levy which has been dumped on top of last year's cake which is still rotting in the warehouses, though the local people are still pitifully close to starvation.

Political Pressures

Governor Wang Tung-yuan, whose record has been reasonably good, suffers from political pressures that have rendered him in large measure impotent. He has recently suffered further by attempting to protect a Kuomintang official involved in a brutal murder. He has little to say concerning current projects to assist the people of Hunan, but dwells happily on blueprints for the future, which include large power dams in western sections of the province. The record of provincial officials, if not good, is at least better than that of the Hsien magistrates. Here there is almost complete insensitivity to the peoples' welfare and the most flagrant corruption.

Along the motor road from Changsha to Nanchang, the capital of Kiangsi, there is little evidence of wartime destruction but the people are poor and ragged. Farmers explain: cost of living too high, too many men conscripted, taxes excessive. In the Kiangsi-Hunan border area banditry is less than last spring but is expected to increase again this winter.

The Hunan roads are good and so is the bus service, but as one moves eastward, road communications and equipment deteriorate. There is a heavy demand for truck service from Nanchang to Shangjao, the present terminus of the Chekiang-Kiangsi Railway, due to Communist disturbances along the Yangtze; and as the importance of this secondary traffic artery appears likely to increase, it is unfortunate that available equipment is so inadequate.

In Nanchang, Governor Wang Ling-chi admitted that there had been almost no Government help extended the people of Kiangsi. He had plans for rural reconstruction, economic aid to the farmers, a rural education program and many development projects, but the plans were still in Nanking awaiting approval and had been there for many months. Nanking had allotted the province CNC$6,000,000,000 for reconstruction, which had been spent entirely in Nanchang. Even so, Nanchang is still largely in ruins, and its broken sewer system, a constant menace to health, is unrepaired except for a small section completed by CNRRA. And yet, as the Governor freely admitted, in spite of provincial-wide poverty and suffering, grain collections had been shipped as far away as North China and army consumption had been very heavy. There was a resulting manpower shortage which had further impoverished many country areas. Governor Wang did not hesitate to mention this condition because he felt it fully justified, in fact was proud of the ability of the people to take it. "If the people suffer now," he said, "it is only to save them from the more vicious menace of Communism. First we must stamp out Communism, then we will help the people."

Danger Obvious

This attitude was the official line throughout the provinces I journeyed through. Whether or not the officials see the danger in this policy, or see that the peoples' enthusiasm must be won if the war is to be won, any attempt to stir such enthusiasm finds little if any practical application. Nor can the hate built up by the Communists when they were entrenched in the southeast 12 years ago, be counted on. There are bloody stories told about the Communists, but there are also present day grumblings against taxation—in several districts as high as 90 percent, and against conscription which has laid barren much productive soil and driven many farmers into the hills. This exodus to the hills has in turn created a bandit problem. No road I travelled has been completely safe at all times during 1947.

* * *

THE characteristics most striking in these areas are apathy and indifference. Typical of the area's apathy is the small city of Nancheng where the ruins left by the Japanese in 1942 lie completely undisturbed except by weeds and weather. Few people are interested in the elections, in the struggle against the Communists, in promises of reform emanating from Nanking. They are too busy struggling to stay alive against a merciless rising cost of living.

In northwestern Fukien, life was at its most wretched, and the bandit problem greatest. Local militia are on constant guard at all villages along the highways. These roads have greatly deteriorated since the war; it took 10 hours to cover the 70-mile stretch of highway from the Kiangsi border to the communication center of Kienyang. Bad weather makes them impassable. Kienyang has rebuilt its gates out of fear of the Communists; but though it is agreed there are Communists in the hills, it is not clear how many of the *tu-fei* are Communists, how many only bandits. The case of an American Catholic priest who recently died in the hands of men who called themselves Communists, has probably exaggerated the local fear; but foreigners have been forbidden to journey into the countryside, and many Chinese are afraid to go.

Chekiang, though in obviously better condition than Kiangsi, at least in the Chekiang-Kiangsi railway area, is still far from healthy. One runs into the same complaints against the cost of living and Government levies on rice and manpower. It was hoped the railway would be extended to Nanchang by the end of the year, and so provide rail connection between Shanghai and Kiukiang on the Yangtze, but now the job is not expected to see completion till next spring or summer.

One of the more encouraging efforts in the area is the service provided by Government and mission hospitals. The Chinese doctors and nurses, who work under backbreaking difficulties on pitifully small salaries, could grow comfortably rich in private practice; that they stick to their jobs is evidence that the medical profession has somehow managed to maintain a high sense of public service that is all too lacking in most business and official life.

Corruption In CNRRA

CNRRA, in spite of some excellent work, has been among the most corrupt of official services, particularly in Hunan. In that province hoarding became so wholesale that UNRRA stopped all further shipments till the warehouses were cleared. As a result there has been a frantic attempt to get rid of stocks on hand, which in turn has meant very bad distribution. As one disillusioned Chinese put it, "CNRRA is just vomiting supplies up and down the roads." Many tons of foodstuffs that had gone bad were dumped in the river at Changsha. A relief worker is one particularly desperate area, after waiting six months for supplies, received five tons of spoiled pea soup powder. There is no end to the stories of CNRRA's failure; and though the picture may be better today, it is not much better.

Corruption is, of course, not alone the province of CNRRA, nor of government officials. It is a condition brought on by poverty, inflation, incompetence and indifference on all levels of life. On one bus trip I was the only legitimate passenger to leave the bus station, though it was quickly filled with "yellow fish" cargo and passengers a few *li* down the road. At various ferry stops passengers are forced to ride across in sampans at unusually large fees rather than go with the bus—the driver shares the proceeds with the boatmen. These little "rackets" abound everywhere, leading one to endorse the statement of a Kiangsi official, "The way to stay honest in China today is to do nothing."

Much of this area I had visited during the war, and so could observe that there has been a general worsening of conditions rather than any improvement since the peace. Indifference, corruption, and poverty are eating away at the people and the Government is doing almost nothing about it. The foreigners in the area, mostly missionaries, generally view the situation with a disillusioned resignation. They seem to be caught in the same apathy that is eating at the Chinese.

* * *

DOWN these central and eastern China highways one runs into ominous little road signs that warn of danger ahead, though often no danger can be observed. They carry one English word—"Alarming!" Being faded, dusty, and scarcely noticed, they seem all the more prophetic of a larger neglect, of a war being lost before it has been fought. This area is growing tinder dry, ready for any fire of change. The philosophy that condones the present bleeding of the people as necessary if they are to be helped later is woefully ignorant of the times. If the Government wants to save China from Communism, indeed save itself, it should heed those road signs, for the situation in its own backyard is indeed alarming.

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Christian General Feng Acts

Edward Rohrbough

(Special Correspondent, The China Weekly Review)

New York, Nov. 21.

MARSHALL Feng Yu-hsiang, who has in the past occupied many positions of varying degrees of importance in Chinese politics, has entered the arena still once more, this time as the rallying point for Chinese in the US who oppose the continuation of the Civil War. Marshall Feng and his associates in the recently-formed "Overseas Chinese Association for Peace and Democracy in China," place the blame for the Civil War squarely on the shoulders of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Kuomintang diehard reactionaries, and those who make the American policy in China.

The "Christian General" is quite outspoken in his opposition to the Generalissimo's policies and his frankness has enraged local Kuomintang functionaries. Recently one Kuomintang Chinese-language paper editorialized that since Marshall Feng had expressed his opposition, "everyone wants to eat his flesh and make a bedspread of his hide."

Interviewed by this correspondent on a basis of that editorial, the huge, greying old general seemed unperturbed. True, he said, he might be arrested because of his comments. The editorial had suggested that his passport be revoked and he be returned to China to "face justice." The arrest of Chinese patriots for expressing their views would be nothing new, he offered, and Dr. Sun Yat-sen had once been arrested for his activities in London, he recollected. He, Marshall Feng, was not afraid. Instead, he gave forth some new pronouncements that have undoubtedly irked the Kuomintang editors here still further.

They were:

1. Chiang Kai-shek and the reactionary Kuomintang elements cannot be included in any coalition government of the future.

2. The United States cannot expect to collect anything at all from a future coalition government of the vast amounts in loans and military surpluses it has lent the government of Chiang Kai-shek.

Explaining about the coalition government which Marshall Feng seems to feel is an inevitability of the future, he said he felt all democratic factions and parties should be included.

About the US loans, Marshall Feng described the situation of the Japanese in 1919, which he felt to be parallel. He said the Japanese at that time lent the incumbent government large funds, considerable military supplies, and even a number of personnel to help crush a revolution which had the backing of the Chinese people. The Japanese effort bought for that country only its clear recognition as an imperialist power and the hatred of the Chinese people, Marshall Feng said. The present policy of America in China would achieve no more desirable results, he thought.

The program of Marshall Feng's new organization is aimed directly at the American people. It includes the following six points:

"1. Discontinue giving military and financial aid to the reactionaries in China.

"2. Withdraw all American military personnel from China."

"3. Refuse to grant any political loans."

"4. Suspend all 'relief' funds and supplies until such time when they will no longer be used for military and political purposes."

"5. Adopt a policy of non-interference in China's internal affairs.

"6. Give aid to China as soon as peace and democracy are achieved."

Formed November 9, the new Association has already begun action. Marshall Feng has taken the speaker's platform at one gathering and will do so again December 7, at a meeting sponsored by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, his topic being, "Why I Broke With Chiang Kai-shek."

The title may be a little inadequate, for Marshall Feng can tell anyone in a couple of sentences why he has sought the public ear to criticize Chiang and the Kuomintang.

"I told Mr. Chiang privately," he says, "and I wrote everything in letters to him, but he did nothing. My letters to Mr. Chiang have been published in China."

Marshall Feng says he has no personal political ambitions.

"I should be satisfied to retire in peace," he says, "and run a restaurant for the rest of my life. I want only to be assured that my country has a chance for peace and democracy."

If he has no political ambition, neither has he any fear of consequences of his open expression of his ideas, nor does he fear a possible return to China.

"I can live safely anywhere in China except face-to-face with Mr. Chiang," he says, and he adds, "There may come a day when Mr. Chiang and his reactionary associates are bound and laid on the table to be tried by the Chinese people."

It is doubtful to this correspondent that his enemies, much as they might like to, will do anything as flagrant to Marshall Feng as they suggest in their writings.

A Kuomintang official commented privately not long ago, "He is our elder statesman. He is the only one of us who can say things like that safely."

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Prospect Of Civil War Development In China

Frederick Lee

THE most active scenes of the military struggle between the two deadly opposed groups in China has gradually shifted to the South in the past two months. The Manchuria war zone which was the two warring parties' chief objective in the year ending last June, has apparently lost part of its significance. Another extensive war area has flared up in the Central China plain promptly attracting the attention of the people in general and the Nationalist High Command in particular. The hasty formation of the Nationalist Joint Military Headquarters of six provinces—Honan, Hupeh, Hunan, Kiangsi, Anhwei and Kiangsu—at Kiukiang, also indicates that the Civil War has actually reached a new stage and has to be tackled with a new strategy.

Strategic Moves

The Communists since their announcement of a general counter-offensive last September, have adopted a number of strategic moves, arousing grave concerns among the Kuomintang leaders.

First, they took advantage of the three main shortcomings of the Kuomintang—lack of attacking forces at the front, lack of defensive strength at the rear and lack of public support of the continuation of the war—and waged ubiquitous onslaughts on the Nationalists, making it practically impossible for the latter to concentrate its forces on one or two battle areas for effective counter attacks. When Manchuria's situation was threatened last October, the Government transferred six divisions from North China to reinforce the outnumbered troops there. Not until the offensive in Manchuria was brought to a close, did the Communists start a wholesale annihilating campaign at the railway hub, Fangtu, between Paoting and Shihchiachwang, thus placing the Nationalist units in North China in an extremely unfavorable plight. Similar instances took place in Shantung and Shensi provinces.

Second, the dynamic raiders under the command of the one-eyed General Liu Po-cheng, General Chen Yi and General Chen Keng, promptly opened new battlefields south of the Yellow River, succeeding in reducing and dispersing the Nationalist forces at the first combat line. When Liu's fast-moving units captured the Tapieh (Great Difference) Mountains last September, the Kuomintang High Command transferred 15 divisions from Shantung, Kiangsu, Honan and other provinces to the Central China basin to counteract Liu's attack. This state of affairs, of course, had a significant bearing upon the Nationalist position in Shantung, North Kiangsu and even as far as North Shensi.

Third, the Communists during this period paid special attention to the disruption of railways north of the Yangtze River, making it fairly difficult for their enemies to move troops from one war zone to another. The railway network in Manchuria is almost completely paralyzed; 60 percent of the Tientsin-Pukow line has been disconnected; half of the Peiping-Hankow line is under the control of the Communists; while the remaining important artery—the Lunghai railway—has been damaged to such an extent that it will take at least one year to repair the whole line. The paralysis of rail communications highly discounts the combat efficiency of the Nationalists who are more or less dependent on speed to move their troops and war supplies.

Cities Isolated

Fourth, through the disruption of railway transportation and the dispersal of the Nationalist troops, the Communists have worked hard to isolate the KMT-held cities one after another, forcing the Nationalists entirely on the defensive. After encircling the cities, the Communists threw the major part of their combat forces into new battle zones, leaving the remaining task of "wearing down" the enemies to the local militia directed by well trained Red fighters. When more and more cities are encircled and isolated, the Nationalist forces will be tied down to the dead cities and will be unable to stop the Communists from moving further to the south and carrying out their agrarian revolution in the KMT-controlled areas.

Fifth, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party, on the Double Tenth Anniversary this year, published a "Chinese Land Act" exclusively aimed at "equalizing land ownership" in the country. This Act is considered as a political move of the Communists to supplement the military offensive by winning over the sympathy and support of the peasantry. Its influence is far-reaching, which fact compelled the ruling party to issue an eight-point political statement on November 30, urging the people to have "a better understanding of the government's policies." Obviously, a political war is now going on in the countryside at a fast rate.

"Runaway" Moves

The National Government seems to be slow in realizing the true intention of the Communists' moves. At first, when the Red forces threaded their way through the Lunghai Railway, Huai River and up to the Yangtze River bank, they took the spectacular Red drive to be wholly of a "runway" nature ("to escape complete rout by the Nationalists.") When the Communists withdrew from Chefoo and other Shantung ports in accordance with their long propagated "to-trade-cities-with-troops" policy, the KMT command believed that the Red units in the Kiaotung sector were "almost", routed and from then on, there would be no noticeable difficulty in suppressing the "Communist bandits." And when the one-eyed Communist general evacuated from a number of cities around the Tapieh Mountains last week and gathered most of his forces at the northwestern part of the mountain region, the Nationalist papers claimed that the Communists were trying to "run back" to the north, being afraid of the "annihilating blow" of the Nationalist strategist, General Pai Chung-hsi. The Kuomintang seemed to have everlooked the danger of another plunge of the flying Communist troops into the Honan pool by disrupting the remaining section of the Peiping-Hankow line and joining forces with the other Communist strategist Gen. Chen Keng, who is now only some 50 miles west of the rail line. All these errors and misconceptions on the part of the Nationalists are suffice to disclose the tragic fact that the ruling party does not have a clear understanding or correct calculation of the Communists' changing strategy.

In dealing with the critical military situation, the Nationalist Command decided last month to adopt a new military plan, the gist of which appears to be as follows:

1. To unify and strengthen the military command in the battlefields of Manchuria, North China, Northwest China and Central China—the North China and Central China war zones being the most important.

2. To organize local militia in fighting the Reds—the local militia being under direct control of the Generalissimo's various Field Headquarters.

Active Drives

3. To hold Manchuria and North China (including Shensi province), clear up the Communist units south of the Yellow River, and build up South China (including Taiwan) for the support of a protracted Civil War. In other words, the Nationalists will adopt defensive measures north of the Yellow River, stage active drives in the area between the two longest rivers, and build up strong war bases south of the Yangtze River.

4. To place the annihilation of Communist manpower as the most im-

portant task in the conducting of any battle, big or small. The occupation of cities, which has been the main objective of the Nationalist High Command since the outbreak of the full-fledged Civil War, will be counted as of secondary importance.

5. To wage political war in townlets and villages side by side with the military drives. The political onslaught is based on the eight points published by the National Government, November 30, as follows:

a. The Government will protect and guarantee the people's rights and freedom provided they commit no acts against good order and society.

b. Lands in areas recovered from the Reds will be returned to their original farmers or owners.

c. Rents for tenants in such areas shall not exceed one-third the yield, either in kind or cash.

d. Taxes on such lands shall be remitted for the period under Red occupation.

e. Impoverished citizens will be given relief.

f. Civilians may inform the authorities of corruption among officials or misbehavior among military men.

g. Each civilian should register with the proper authorities so as to facilitate the detection of subversive elements, and able-bodied males should join the local self-defense corps in order to prevent Red infiltration.

h. Red agents, military men and political workers will be guaranteed protection if they surrender and vow to serve the Government.

All these measures are apparently pinned on the hope that the present worsening military status quo will be maintained, or if possible, improved, until next spring when the training of some 20 Chinese divisions by American officers at Taiwan and other part in South China is expected to be completed.

Blitzkrieg Attacks

The reorganization of the different Field Headquarters serves as evidence that the Kuomintang will strengthen its defenses in Manchuria and North China and intensify its attacks against the Communist holdings in Honan and Anhwei, because General Fu Tso-yi, the new Director of the North China Field Headquarters, is an expert in defensive warfare, while General Pai Chung-hsi, Director of the Central China Field Headquarters and concurrently Minister of National Defense, is famous for his launching of blitzkrieg campaigns. The appointment of these two generals as the supreme commanders of the two most important war areas indicates that the Nationalists' military strategy is about to be unified and that different war zones, from now on, will direct their "suppression campaign" separately and co-ordinatedly.

The unification and strengthening of the Nationalist command is of course a marked improvement on the part of the ruling party in coping with the reeling military situation, but it remains doubtful whether the revised plan of the Nationalists will be effectively enforced, as does their cherished hope of tiding over the current depression until the arrival of the American-trained units next spring.

In North China, since the outstanding military reverses at Fangtu and Shihchiachwang along the Peiping-Hankow line, the Nationalists found themselves in such a precarious position that they might lose Paoting, Kailien and other important cities at any time. According to a *Reuters* dispatch from Nanking, November 30, there were "fairly heavy withdrawals of (Nationalist) troops from Manchuria to relieve Communist pressure at various points in North China" at the latter part of last month. The troops withdrawn were estimated to be five divisions, which fact greatly endangered the Manchurian situation and made one wonder if the Government may be going to abandon the Manchurian strip. If Manchuria should be completely lost to the Communists, the Nationalist plight in the north provinces would undoubtedly be serious.

Practically Hopeless

In Manchuria, the Nationalist situation is practically hopeless, particularly after the 60,000 casualties sustained in the last Communist drive and the withdrawal of five much needed divisions to the Hopei battlefields. The KMT troops in the Northeast provinces at present number less than 150,000 men—or one quarter of the Red forces in that area. This state of affairs is taken by some quarters as one of the major reasons why General Chen has has been "sick" so often.

In the Northwest war zone, the fate of the Nationalists is largely hinged on the defense of Yulin, a strategically significant base along the Shensi-Suiyuan border line. If the KMT forces fail to hold this important points, the destiny of General Hu Tsung-nan's remaining six brigades around Yenan would be doomed. When comparing the strengths of the contending sides in the sparsely populated Shensi province, one may easily expect that the Communists will take over Yulin in the same way they took over the important railway junction of Shihchiachwang in Hopei last month, should there be further major losses in manpower on the part of the Nationalists.

The scene in Central China is more confusing than elsewhere because at the present moment, not only is General Pai Chung-hsi carefully planning an allout offensive against the Tapieh Mountains, but the Communist General Liu Po-cheng is also endeavoring to preserve his gained initiative and expand the civil warfare further to the west and south of the Yangtze River. Since neither side wants to be on the defensive, it can be expected that the cutthroat struggle in this area will be a fast, exciting and devastating one.

Around the Tapieh Mountains, the Nationalists have concentrated 200,000 troops to batter Liu's 160,000 raiders. The two sides are practically matched, and it is pretty risky for the able Kuomintang strategist to launch any attack with such a small number of troops at his disposal. In order to carry out the drafted plan, General Pai needs at least 500,000 men under his direct command. But under the prevailing circumstances when most of the Nationalist forces are being tied down in isolated cities, there is no possibility of transferring the remaining necessary 300,000 forces to Central China from other war areas. As such, it is still too early to expect any promising outcome of the new Nationalist strategy in the Central China war zone.

The Nationalist High Command is now trying to erect three defensive lines in Central China—one north of, one along, and one south of the Yangtze River, with the hope of stemming the advance of the Red forces toward the southern provinces. Present events indicate that General Liu's forces will not insist on crossing the big waterway at this hour, but rather seem prepared for the taking over of the important Tung Pai mountains in southern Honan which would serve as an ideal spring board onto the weakly defended interior provinces, such as Hupeh, Hunan and Szechuan. Should Honan fall to the Communists, the conflagration of the Civil War would inevitably spread to the entire hinterland and the agrarian revolution initiated by the Communists would cut away the foundations of the National Government.

The Civil War is steadily extending to the south. It is time now for the readers to concentrate their attention on the developments in the Central China war zone and the military and political preparations going on in the south.

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Democracy Comes To Yunnan

Helen P. F. Shih

(Special Correspondent, The China Weekly Review)

Kunming (Air Mail).

IT has been said that the recent General Elections in China were a gesture of appeasement to the United States. Judging from the indifference of the populace, their ignorance as to procedure and the degrading behavior of the majority of the candidates, who employed every known means to coerce voters and, so the Young China Party claims, did not even stop at a murder or two, it may seem to an astute observer that the General Elections were indeed a mockery.

The general election of delegates for the National Assembly from hsien cities, the municipality of Kunming and the special professional organizations such as the Provincial General Labor Union, Women's Society, Newspapermen's Society, Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Agriculture and the educational world, etc. took place in Yunnan on November 21, 23 and 27, respectively.

Flags Ordered

The national flag was ordered to be flown from every houses in celebration of that most "glorious democratic day" in Chinese history. Colorful posters carrying pictures of candidates were plastered on walls and busses. The lao pai hsing's dream of democracy seemed to be coming true. Perhaps the constitution would be put into effect sooner than they had thought.

It is known that all the candidates had been approved by the Election Offices in accordance with the election regulations. As China is really a big shot's country, naturally it was unimportant whether or not a candidate was unqualified as long as he was a member of one of the three parties—preferably the KMT—or possessed an influential background. Not only did they become legal candidates appointed by their party, but, strangely enough, they were also "elected" as delegates quite often.

Official statistics in Kunming reveal that of a population of 250,000 in that city, 100,000 were qualified to exercise the vote. The reason why many citizens who have been living in Kunming for two years or so are ineligible to vote is not known. Kunming is divided into 17 electorate districts in each of which the Kunming Municipal Election Office arranged for a ballot box to be placed.

On the afternoon of November 21, the first day of voting, this correspondent paid a visit to all of the 17 districts and was surprised to find that nobody was voting. Being curious about the absence of voters, I inquired around and was told some interesting anecdotes.

For instance, Jeuan Chow-chong, a high military officer who has been away from Kunming for many years, was appointed by the KMT to run in Kunming, his native town. The other candidates, including Tzeng Chow T'eh, speaker of the Kunming Council, were forced to step down. It is said that Jeuan has promised to help them in the coming elections for members to the Legislative Yuan and Control Yuan. With the help of his nephew, Jeuan I-jen, publisher of the CC Clique-controlled *Chen I Pao* (Justice Daily), it is reported that "letters of recommendation" were folded into copies of the paper and delivered to subscribers. Chu Chien-fee, neither a worker nor a Yunnanese, organized a labor union in May this year, but was vetoed by the Ministry of Social Affairs. However, Chu is still a legal KMT candidate in opposition to 15 other labor union heads. Lo Chien, former executive member of Yunnan Provincial KMT Office, who was charged with bribery and corruption in the opium suppression scandal last year, (See "Public Execution Best Cure For Opium Suppression Officials," *China Weekly Review*, July 20, 1947) and whose KMT membership was reported to have once been cancelled, was also a KMT Labor Union candidate.

Keen Disappointment

The candidates were keenly disappointed on the first day, November 21, when only a very few voters were present, and proceeded to round up the voters through their henchmen and the pao chia chiefs. The pao chia chiefs urged the populace to go to the polls and in some instances they reportedly collected the ballots, paying CNC$5,000 to CNC$10,000 apiece. Friends of Lo Chien are said to have offered CNC$2,000 each to a great many coolies to cast their ballots for Lo, but unfortunately, the illiterate coolies failed in this mission and were arrested by the police.

It is also rumored that anyone who "elected" Jeuan Chow-chong was treated to a CNC$10,000 dinner by this candidate's backers. On the walls of one district, two contradictory manifestos were posted. One confirmed that Chu Chien-fee was the legal KMT candidate, while the other attacked him as an imposter.

The KMT women candidates employed thousands of women workers who were paid CNC$5,000. As one woman worker remarked to this correspondent, "I have received double pay by casting three ballots three times, as I change into a different dress every time. The pay for one or two hours of this kind of work is as much as I receive for a whole day, usually."

On November 25 and 28, the Kunming Municipal Election Office, under the "supervision" of the Government officers, counted the ballots. It was found that the votes cast by "qualified" voters amounted to only one-third of the original number issued by the Office. However, Jeuan Chow-chong is reported to have been "chosen" as the delegate from the Municipality of Kunming, and it is possible that Chu Chien-fee will be the "chosen" representative of the Labor Unions when the votes from the hsien labor organization have been counted.

In Kunming, the capital of Yunnan, election procedure was accompanied by wild confusion. Needless to say, the disorderliness was worse in the hsien cities. As far as is known, the former Acting Governor of Yunnan, who was involved in the Kunming Tragedy of December 1, 1945, is the KMT candidate for his hsien, Hoching. But actually, Lee Yao-teng, General Manager of the *Kuan Char Pao* (Observer Daily), received the majority vote. Nevertheless, only Lee Tzung-hwang is recognized as the legal delegate from Hoching. In Mentzehsien, a KMT candidate is said to have torn up the votes cast for his rival candidate. Judging from the disgraceful behavior in these elections, those to elect members to the Legislative Yuan the Control Yuan will be carried out in the same shameful manner.

It has been reported that, in compliance with a confidential circular issued by the Election Headquarters, all the election offices must be responsible for the choosing of those candidates appointed by the three parties. It came as no surprise, therefore, that T'an Sheau-ming, chairman of Yunnan Branch Office of the Young China Party, and Feng Tze-jen, chairman of the Yunnan Branch Office of the Democratic Socialist Party became the delegates from their native hsien, Hweitseh and Yuchih, respectively.

Political Sham

Under such conditions as have been summarized above, the holding of the General Elections has been nothing but political sham, since the decisive power has been held in the hands of the KMT, and in particular, the CC Clique. Generally speaking, neither the intelligentsia nor the poorer classes evinced any interest—the one group because they could see through the hypocricy of the proceedings and the other because they are too busy struggling to live in these days of spiralling prices. This is the reason the majority of eligible voters omitted to exercise their franchise, which in Western countries is considered so valuable. All in all, the elections have been a vast waste of money—the taxpayers' money at that.

De Gaulle's "Rally"

Jacques Decaux

(Special Correspondent, The China Weekly Review)

Paris, Nov. 17.

WESTERN European nations have witnessed far reaching and important developments in the past month or so. The Communist Party in France suffered serious defeat at the hands of Charles de Gaulle's "Rally" of the French people, and from being the major political party in France it has descended to a mere nucleus of the faithful few. Prior to the French elections, the CP had met defeat in Rome; and in Switzerland, where the CP is forbidden legal activities and exists under the name of Labor Party, it gained only seven seats out of 193 available. In Norway the Party collected only 12 percent of the votes as against its previous 18 percent. In Denmark the strength was halved—from 18 to nine seats. Finally, in England, the Labor Party also suffered severe setbacks in the recent municipal elections. In England, of course, the Communist Party is less active than elsewhere, nevertheless, the major portion of Western Europe is showing increasing tendencies to drift to the right, contrary to their attitude directly after the war when the left gained so many adherents. The reason is said to be the failure of leftist leadership to live up to its promises and its inability to cope with the ever worsening economic situation.

Interview Granted

In an endeavor to investigate De Gaulle's activities—he is the most talked about man in France today—this correspondent tried unsuccessfully to interview the ex-General, who has given no press interview since his retirement from office. However, the Rally's Information Director, Mr. Diomede Catroux, was available and qualified to comment on the general's intentions and was good enough to receive me in his office and answer a number of questions concerning De Gaulle.

Q. Do you think the problem of Power in the French Government is overshadowed by the problem of existence?

A. It may be. But the contrary is also true. The French people are revolving in a vicious circle and their only way out is to solve the governmental issue.

The present socialist government has been pursuing the fatal policy of inflation, commented Mr. Catroux, and has further aggravated the situation by promoting the traditional enmity between country and city people. As a matter of fact, both have ample reason to complain. Of the city worker's salary of about francs 20,000, at least 17,000 is spent on food, leaving him the balance of 3,000 to clothe, house, and keep his family. The reverse is true of the peasant who is able to eat well, although he can only spend 4,000 of his francs 20,000 on food other than his farm supplies. This results in hoarding, as the peasant is faced with the threat of a steadily devaluating currency.

Equipment Unavailable

Of course, the farmer could invest in modernized equipment were it not for the fact that such material is virtually unavailable, or if it is to found it is usually priced at a highly inflated rate. The government's policy has been one of hiding the effects of inflation by granting subsidies, as has been the case with wheat. Economists obliged the peasants to sell their wheat at ridiculously low prices so the latter began planting other cereals.

The recent elections have proved that the people of France are going through an awakening of collective conscience. The proof lies in the fact that they realize that strikes or rebellions (as in cases where citizens looted private town houses and made an auto-de-fè of ration cards) were of no avail under the circumstances. The people are now aware that the only means of voicing their dissatisfaction is by supporting De Gaulle's movement, Mr. Catroux declared.

Laws For The People

It is significant that for the first time in 60 years, a municipal election took a definite political turn. The outcome proved the people's desire for a strong democratic government which would make laws for the people and not against their interests. De Gaulle has made an appeal to the people's conscience. The present form of government is unable to maintain the people's confidence in the laws of the country and, they have voted against it, Mr. Catroux said.

Q. Why did General de Gaulle bring up the Constitutional issue.

A. Because under the present system normal governmental activities have been made impossible. It divides the State instead of unifying it, as can be witnessed in the present cabinet's economic policy. Instead of trying to balance the budget by normal process it has resorted to expedients. The manufacture of trouser buttons or the raising of mushrooms should not be controlled by a government monopoly. As a result of such behavior, the government has been forced to curtail its financial assistance to key industries. Wheat, coal, milk and sugar prices, formerly kept abnormally low by state subsidies, are now making phenomenal jumps—coal has increased by 60 percent and the other items from 30 to 50 percent. The mistake was in trying to keep prices low instead of boosting production.

Q. Will there not be a split among the Rally people when and if De Gaulle returns to power?

A. General de Gaulle's Rally is not a political party. Its members joined because they felt that the road France was treading was dangerous. When and if there is a De Gaulle headed government all of the party's members will retain their individual political stands. But the aim of all Rally members is to remodel a legislative and judiciary system which will give back to the state its authority and restore the confidence of the people in its leaders. The Rally is not a party, it is a "rally" of the people fighting for a common ideal and their victory is the testimony of a collective sentiment of the people.

To your correspondent, the most significant point made by Mr. Catroux is that France has decided that she is tired of muddleheaded politics which have been her lot for the past year and a half. France is ready for a change.

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UNRRA's Biggest Supply Push

Robert L. Cook

(In the last six months a flood of UNRRA supplies for ragged refugees has replaced nine years of Yellow River floods in 2,000,000 silted, weed-grown acres of northeast Honan Province).

THE biggest, toughest, most successful large-scale distribution job that UNRRA and CNRRA have tackled in China—the mammoth task of distributing since July more than 30,000 tons of UNRRA supplies, 500,000 rough road miles to 660,000 flood refugees returning to the broad Honan farming area formerly flooded yearly by the Yellow River, stands this week virtually complete.

A huge and complex operation, pushed at an ever-increasing tempo since July amid the dangers of a broad, confusingly fluid theater of China's Civil War, the distribution constitutes a magnificent follow-up of UNRRA's greatest world project —the diversion of the mighty Yellow River which since 1938 has flooded yearly over the entire region, with tragic results.

Chaotic Years

During those chaotic nine years of civil and international warfare more than 3,000 square miles of flooded farmlands lay idle and unproductive of the millions of bushels of grain, rice and vegetables which their fertility and the toil of their several million farming inhabitants had formerly poured into the always insufficient food supply stream of hungry China.

This year as news of the completed Yellow River diversion project traveled swiftly by word of mouth over hundreds of miles to thousands of illiterate former residents, driven by annual Yellow River floods into exile in country to the south and west of their Honan homes, 500,000 people began to straggle back in a ragged, hopeful migration.

Many arrived ill and exhausted; most found their old lands silted and weedgrown, their houses smashed or buried under tons of loess, their small industries obliterated and the entire face of the once prosperous land changed from the way they remembered it.

Most had walked the hundreds of weary li, trundling their few belongings in wheelbarrows or carrying them on their backs. At journey's end they faced a bewildering, hopeless situation. Gone were the smiling farmlands they had known before 1938. In their stead was a semi-wilderness of weeds and barren dunes, scourged by Civil War. Without farm tools, without seeds, without clothing, food, medicine or money, they stared without hope at the uneven, unfriendly soil.

Myriad Obstacles

Into this dark grey canvas, as UNRRA's Yellow River Project gradually wore away myriad natural and political obstacles and it became clear that the greatest river diversion project in history was a winning proposition, stepped UNRRA and the Chinese Government's distributing agency, CNRRA.

The first UNRRA-CNRRA aid to returning stragglers had begun the previous year, prior to the Yellow River diversion, when thousands filled with the same eternal hope that imbues dwellers in the shade of Mt. Vesuvius, returned to the area. But the big push of supplies began in July and reached its crescendo in November, when 500 tons a day were being distributed throughout the region.

Sworn to ensure to its utmost ability the impartial, non-political distribution of its 2,500,000-ton flood tide of miscellaneous supplies for China, but coming squarely time and again against massive, rock-hard stumbling blocks of danger and delay engendered by the Civil War, UNRRA welcomed the chance here presented to aid a large section of the disputed border region.

Rich Farmlands

Between 80 and 90 percent of the vast Flooded Areas, comprising about 2,000,000 acres of North China's richest farmlands stretching across Honan Province from Huayuankuo, scene of the famous mile long break in the Yellow River dyke, to the border of Anhwei Province, was mainly Communist controlled, although in many places the military situation was of quicksilver changeability.

As a result, the slowing dangerous factor of military interference from both sides and the attendent scourge of banditry by non-partisan outlaws was added to the sheer physical difficulties presented by so enormous a distribution job in so short a period of time.

Bad roads and the midsummer rains that turned them into sloughs of momentary UNRRA-CNRRA despondency; the complex organizational work of regimenting enough oxcarts, mule carts, wheelbarrows, trucks and boats, together with sufficient numbers of qualified UNRRA and CNRRA personnel to follow through in each locality, loomed as formidable high hurdles.

From the start the operation was a risky and uncertain job for a 1,200-man operating staff that included some of the best qualified field workers in the UNRRA and CNRRA organizations. Plagued with constant problems, delays and setbacks, at no time did the staff regard the job as impossible, although the strain of working in ever present physical danger might well have caused less determined souls to quail.

The UNRRA field staff to a man feels that to their CNRRA colleagues must go laurel wreaths of courage, lacking as they did, the certain relative immunity and prestige accorded to their foreign colleagues, the UNRRA staff and the Menonites and Friends Service Unit volunteers, who assisted.

As Chinese, engaged in aiding both their fellow Nationalists and the Chinese Communists, the CNRRA field staff were often regarded with distrust and strong dislike by local military field groups, both Nationalist and Communist, who frequently viewed the big supply operation as constituting indirect military aid to the opposing side.

Workers Robbed

At various times and in a number of different regions, CNRRA workers were robbed of their supplies and imprisoned. Four CNRRA coolies and several CLARA (the Communists' distributing agency for UNRRA supplies) warehousemen were shot and killed. Of both the UNRRA and CNRRA workers, Mr. John Kessebaum, of Sunnyside, Washington, in charge of the operation for UNRRA, said this week:

"I feel that whatever success we have had in the operation in Honan was due to the fact that the staff has not given up at any time. There have been many times when it seemed hopeless, but the various field workers stayed in the field and kept trying, and eventually things moved again.

"There is not one of our field staff that has not been shot at, at least two or three times; several have been held up by the military and several have been robbed by bandits. With all of this they have kept going back into the area to continue the operation, with the result that of the entire vast tonnage of supplies, only a few odds and ends now remain in the region to be turned over to the Ministry of Social Affairs."

Despite its size and speedy completion, this greatest of UNRRA-CNRRA distribution jobs in China was performed with care and attention to ensure that supplies reached the genuinely indigent.

By mid-July, after two weeks of operation, 16 food distribution centers had been readied and 150,000 persons registered by field teams who toured from village to village. At the end of one month 250,000 registered refugees had received UNRRA food.

Paid In Flour

To each qualified end receiver went 20 catties of flour per month. Each could obtain 20 more through UNRRA-sponsored work relief projects, notably the Ying Ho water conservancy project on which 20,000 workers toiled, paid in UNRRA flour, and to which

also went UNRRA shovels, trucks, tents and miscellaneous equipment.

Supplementing the direct food and supply distribution were 10 mobile cookers, modern UNRRA versions of the old army "chuck wagons" which, under the direction of UNRRA mass feeding specialist Reg Cowan, of St. Peters, S. Australia, fed a flour, rice, meat and vegetable congee (soft soup) to an average of 2,500 hungry refugees per cooker each day.

Cowan later became the only foreign relief worker stationed in Hsihua, where he remained for several months, negotiating with municipal and military authorities for the safe and equitable distribution of supplies. In a changing Civil War zone, Cowan found himself dealing one day with controlling Nationalist commanders, the next day with the Communists, and vice versa, as the fighting swirled and eddied around him.

Impressive Figure

Primarily a distribution job, the Flooded Areas operation represents essentially the UNRRA programs in miniature. Besides 30,000 tons of food, 500 tons of UNRRA textiles were distributed, a figure that becomes more impressive when broken down into 100,000 blankets; enough cotton and woolen piece goods to make 250,000 Chinese garments and 35 tons of raw cotton for padding them; 350 sewing machines distributed by the Kaifeng office to hospitals, orphanages and girls' middle schools; large quantities of new and used clothing and shoes; 2500 UNRRA tents to supplement flimsy grass shacks erected by penniless refugees; 40,000 yards of UNRRA mosquito netting and 100 tons of medical supplies.

The overall project was directed by John Kassebaum, of UNRRA, working with CNRRA regional director Dr. Ma Chieh and Deputy Director Dr. C. H. Pan. The principal activity, distribution of vast quantities of assorted supplies, was handled by Robert Hart, of London, England and George Dickey, of Lima, Ohio, of UNRRA and K. C. Wang of CNRRA.

The pressure of the work is illustrated by a smiling remark by Mr. Wong, following an unusually hectic period: "I am in a very bad position," he said. "I have many people pressing me. Under me are my distribution teams and over my head is CNRRA. In front of me are the refugees and to my right, the Nationalist army; to the left is the Communist army—and behind me is UNRRA, pushing me into work. But we'll get it done somehow!"

Individual Projects

A number of individual projects flourished concurrently with the main job of distribution. Farm tools by the hundreds of thousands were poured into the hands of eager refugee farmers in a program conducted by Burlin Hamer, of Eldora, Iowa. Manufactured by local blacksmiths with funds from CNRRA; turned out in great quantities by a branch shop of the National Agricultural Engineering Corporation (NAEC) in Kaifeng and the Shanghai main shop, a total of 300,000 hoes, shovels, hammers, saws, hatchets, etc., was distributed in the flooded region.

In the Kaifeng shop of the NAEC, one of the UNRRA-sponsored long term projects to be continued under the recently formed Trusteeship operating under the Government's National Rehabilitation Commission, Chinese blacksmiths with the aid of skilled foreign instructors will continue to turn out farm tools, each glowing forge a monument in motion to the UNRRA China program.

Also actively at work aiding the returning refugees to resume their small agricultural industries of which some had knowledge and others only the will to learn, was another of the long term continuing projects UNRRA has initiated in China—the Agricultural Industries Service (AIS).

Army Of Tractors

Under the direction of six-foot-five "Tiny" Marple of Hayward, Wisc. and N. A. Samway of Grand Island, Neb., land plowed and seeded by tireless squadrons of an army of 262 UNRRA farm tractors, operating in an area 10 miles wide and 20 miles long, was soon being measured in miles rather than mou or acres. In a few months nearly 100 square miles of farm soil was upturned for planting in this huge tractor operation conducted by Marple, Samway, four American Menonite farm boys and large numbers of young Chinese tractor trainees.

Into the neat furrows went 6,500,000 pounds of wheat seed, purchased by UNRRA and CNRRA in towns bordering non-flooded Honan farm lands and distributed free to the refugees. In an earlier spring program thousands of acres plowed by earlier UNRRA-CNRRA tractor teams had been seeded with over 2,000,000 pounds of bean, millet and kaoliang seed.

Ocean Of Seed

This total 8,000,000-pound ocean of seed was distributed under Burlin Hamer's direction with farm tools and fertilizer to 500,000 people who, with the age-old resiliency to disaster inherent in the Chinese, have made full use of them.

In the space of a few months waving wheat and the prosperous green of growing beans replaced the former barrenness. The fertile land, although partially humous-starved from years of flooding, responded well.

For thousands of other refugees, not farmers by profession, a flood of textiles—cotton, wool, yarn, thread—poured into Honan villages in a program directed by UNRRA's Frank House, of Montreal and Toronto, Canada. Distributed free by CNRRA, to hospitals and charitable institutions and to CNRRA-UNRRA conducted sewing centers, the supplies have provided a new livelihood for thousands of Chinese women and girl refugees.

On the Ying Ho conservancy project, entirely in Communist-held territory, 20,000 men paid in UNRRA flour completed a river channel 10 miles long and 100 meters wide, to relieve subsidiary flooding by the Ying River whose channel was heavi-

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ly silted by nine years of Yellow River floods.

This project was under the direction of the competent Canadian engineer and old China hand Don Faris, who had worked with O. J. Todd on the Yellow River diversion. Faris' excellent knowledge of the Chinese language has not prevented him from becoming known as the "most shot-at man in UNRRA." This, he feels, is not certain, in an operation composed of men who have been shot at many times. By actual count, however, Faris has been under fire 14 times in attacks ranging from two or three shots to those in which 300 rounds were fired. Faris also probably holds the UNRRA jeep-mile record—35,000 miles by jeep in two years, over the world's worst roads, including four trips from Kaifeng to the sea and back again, in the course of Yellow River inspection work.

Faris, however, is but one of many who have been shot at, imprisoned or had their vehicles and supplies commandeered by the military of both warring sides. On more than one occasion UNRRA and CNRRA personnel went to sleep in a Nationalist town and awoke to find it a Communist town, captured during the night.

Bandits Dangerous

But the greatest danger, was from non-partisan bandits who roamed nightly in armed force over the region and to whom the UNRRA goods glittered like gold in a supply-starved area and to whom the UNRRA-CNRRA badges and banners were meaningless.

Despite the ever-present danger, the job went on at a driving pace, throughout the entire vast flooded areas. Assisting in the supply distribution and in the work of the projects, roared a great fleet of 150 UNRRA-supplied motor trucks, churning through clouds of dust in fair weather, slogging doggedly through the mud of the rainy season. They were operated under the direction of Roy Rowan, of New York, N. Y., and Hal Osgood, of Erie, Mich., to whom fell the tough task of keeping them in running order on the rough roads.

Supplementing the trucks, which alone could never have done the job, were thousands of more primitive conveyances. Everything movable in the area was pressed into service during the last six months. Enormous tonnages, split into small loads moved from the four main distribution centers of Fukow, Huai Tien, Chou Chia Kow and Hsi-hua, and 19 secondary points, thousands of slow but sure miles by oxcarts, donkey carts, wheelbarrows, boats and on the shoulders of the people into each little village, to each cluster of tiny grass huts where the impoverished refugees lived like aboriginal nomads of an earlier era.

With the ending of the UNRRA program the 660,000 genuinely indigent refugees aided face a further period of hardship in the spring pre-harvest months of 1948, through which it is hoped the efforts of the government will carry them until the UNRRA seed, fertilizers, tractors and other agricultural aids shall have resulted in by far the largest post-war wheat crop yet harvested.

This week in Shanghai, Harlan Cleveland, of Harwichport, Mass., director of the US$535,000,000 UNRRA China program, paid high tribute to the UNRRA and CNRRA staff members who made the flooded areas job a success.

Efficient Use

"This operation has been UNRRA at its best," Mr. Cleveland said. "It has carried out laudably the basic UNRRA concept of a quick non-partisan efficient aid job, hitting on all economic cylinders, to help people to help themselves by giving them the necessary supplies and the equally necessary expert assistance in putting the goods and equipment to the most efficient use.

"Important as an aid factor in this job were the people of the flooded areas themselves, strong in their will to struggle toward a better life. All they needed was a start, a strong and friendly helping hand which UNRRA, with the splendid cooperation of CNRRA, was able to give them.

"Everyone connected with this huge operation—John Kassebaum, Dr. Ma and their loyal, hard-hitting staffs deserves the greatest credit for a difficult job done quickly and willingly at great personal effort and sacrifice and amid grave danger."

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SHANGHAI, CHINA

Loans-And Then What?

J. R. Kaim

OCCASIONALLY one cannot help thinking that whatever economic decision this Government may make, it will be criticized and rejected by large groups of business men. Now, in many cases critics have had easy targets indeed, but this is not quite so with regard to the Government's recent decisions on loan and credit control. In this case the Government appears to be fighting on solid ground. The medicine, a very bitter pill, may help the patient and may force the fever down. But the Government, no doubt, knows that loan and credit suspension is no panacea for inflation.

About a week ago, the local press carried various statements made by local business men to the effect that the Government's loan suspension policy will not and cannot succeed in pressing prices down. Contrary to such forecasts, however, prices of many commodities actually did decrease and quite drastically, too. They recovered swiftly, however, when the Government, despite all warnings to the contrary, issued, in so critical a situation, its high denomination banknotes.

Loan suspension, it was said, has prevented merchants from buying raw materials in the interior and in outports. Such purchases, we were told, "would virtually help in stabilizing market conditions to a certain extent." Why then, have such purchases failed to stabilize the market when loans and credits were available without any difficulty?

The fact is that while cheap loans, granted for purposes by no means always productive, have failed to show any stabilizing effect, commodity prices came down after the suspension of such cheap loans.

There is hardly any direct proof for the supposition that bank loans have been used for speculative business. But while it is an open secret that loans have been used for such purposes, the sudden halt of price movements shortly after the loan suspension and the following price drops, supplied full though indirect proof of this contention.

True, not all of the abundant idle funds have been obtained from banks. There has been a tremendous influx of idle capital from "the interior and outports," chiefly from North China. Such influx, too, the Government is trying to stop. Banks are permitted to remit to Shanghai only very small sums and the Customs have been ordered to search planes, ships and trains for what has been termed smuggled shipments of banknotes. This governmental decision is not difficult to understand and, certainly, is part and parcel of a program aiming at a strict tightening of the money market.

According to press reports, a local commercial organization, in its attempt to demonstrate to the Government the various shortcomings of the new rulings, has explained that if funds cannot be remitted from the hinterland to other districts this might cause more commodity price increases. If actually such a statement has been made, it is not so easy to grasp its meaning. Probably, the organization is hinting that people in the hinterland will not be able to buy new supplies in Shanghai and that, therefore, they will try to sell their present stocks at higher prices. But, obviously, the hinterland is also selling cargo to Shanghai and the shippers' funds in Shanghai—in national currency—therefore, might as well be used to cover their purchases.

It is considered a fact, however, that the bulk of hinterland and outport remittances to Shanghai did refer to actual commodity purchases. They were forwarded here for the purpose of being invested in commodities which were not urgently needed in the hinterland but were to be stored here, and they were invested also in shares and on the black markets.

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However, the medal has another side, too.

Those in actual need of cash may find ample funds on the black money market where they are supposed to pay a monthly interest of 20 percent (and up). As merchants usually are not philanthropists, they will calculate their sales prices on the basis of black market interest rates —and commodity prices again will move upward. It would be almost a miracle indeed, if holders of idle funds in the outports did not find means and ways to "smuggle" money to Shanghai in one form or another.

In other words, if the Government sticks to its decision, no lasting effect may be expected. But if cheap loans and credits would be granted for special purposes only —productive ones, of course,—this would offer legitimate traders and manufacturers better chances. They would be able to calculate normally. And this would distinguish them from the 20 to 24 percent interest paying black market clients.

Evidently, tightening of the money market can be only one point of a real market control program. As a temporary effective medicine the procedure is not new at all, and it has been demanded here by many economists. To express one's dissatisfaction with the new regulations, therefore, would be premature; the step was necessary. Whether it can affect the tempo of the money inflation, however, will depend on further decisions: as a single, isolated move it cannot have any lasting consequences, but as part of a money market control system it may.

That control systems can influence the speed of inflation while hardly touching the roots of this evil and that, therefore, they can only force the fever down but not cure the sickness, really is a matter of course.

Out of the Frying Pan Into the Coffee Pot

—Russell, in The Los Angeles Times

The Week's Business

THE most outstanding event on Shanghai's financial market during the week under review (Thursday to Wednesday) was the issuance of new high denomination banknotes. Equivalent to CNC$20,000, CNC$40,000 and CNC$100,000, the new Customs Gold Units are below or a little above the value of one US dollar—according to its official rate of exchange. Nevertheless, observers well acquainted with the people's mentality warned against issuing new banknotes just now; although every one knows the actual buying power of the national currency, high denomination banknotes would impress the market, they forecast.

That they were right was understood when, shortly after the announcement of the Government's decision to circulate the new notes, prices of domestic as well as imported commodities shot up sharply. Within a few hours, raw silk (expensive enough before the new gain) went up by CNC$10,000 the bale, cotton yarns by an average of CNC$400,000 the bale and rayon by CNC$4,000,000 the case. That export prospects do not improve when prices of typical Chinese products gain in so drastic a manner, is a matter of course. This, at least, when legitimate exports are concerned, for both the Government and Central Bank, for reasons best known known to themselves, failed to increase their foreign exchange buying rates. In other words, when calculated at the official exchange rates, prices of export goods, during the week under review went up tremendously, in terms of foreign exchange.

This development, no doubt, could have been avoided, at the beginning of the week, commodity prices started to decline, the money market was extremely tight and holders of large stocks were obliged to sell at more reasonable prices.

Price developments on the foodstuff markets were by no means better. Well known brands of white rice increased in price by about 10 percent within little more than 48 hours, whereas domestic flour reached the same goal within 24 hours.

Only the Stock Exchange reacted otherwise. Stock quotations gained rapidly when the new banknote issue was announced. But partly due to profit-taking, and partly due to a variety of rumors, operators tried to get rid of their holdings, and spot as well as forward quotations lost rapidly. Among the manifold rumors circulating on the market, one was particularly impressive: the Government, it said, would prohibit the issue of checks above CNC$200,000,000, a procedure which indeed might affect speculative activities to a certain extent.

Meanwhile, reports from South China last week indicated that in spite of various precautions and restrictions considerable amounts of national currency have found their way from North China to Canton—and probably also to Hongkong—where capital feels safer and investments may be found easier than in Shanghai, and certainly easier than in the North. Most of the funds are said to have been invested, though perhaps only temporarily, in real estate.

SHANGHAI MARKET

MONEY MARKET:

The money market was slightly tight during the week ending December 6. Government banks called in CNC$1,177,700,000,000 and the foreign banks called in CNC$2,709,600,000,000. The black market interest rate was around 22 percent.

STOCKS AND SHARES:

The stock and share market remained quiet and quotations dropped further because of the short selling outside of the Shanghai Securities Exchange. However, foreign stocks ruled firm.

	Nov. 29 CNC$	Dec. 6 CNC$
Wing On Textile	379	377
Mayar Silk	525	505
Ewo Cotton	354,000	475,000
Bond C	24,200	25,000

RICE AND CEREALS:

The rice and cereal markets remained steady with practically no change in prices as shown below:

	Nov. 29 CNC$	Dec. 6 CNC$
Rice	730,000	730,000
Wheat flour	290,000	283,000
Peanut oil	1,880,000	1,850,000

COMMODITIES:

Commodity prices dropped slightly for the following speculative articles. However, the wholesale commodity price index for the week increased a little, according to statistics compiled by the China Institute of Economics.

	Nov. 29 CNC$	Dec. 6 CNC$
Raw silk	90,000,000	86,000,000
Rayon	110,000,000	98,000,000
20's Yarn	30,800,000	30,000,000
RQ cigarettes	245,000	255,000
MD matches	6,700,000	6,350,000
Newsprint	1,150,000	1,200,000

The wholesale commodity price index for the week is 123,761.

General Index	123,761
Food	76,574
Textiles	119,914
Metals	200,144
Construction materials	130,642
Chemicals	307,517
Fuel	163,488
Miscellaneous	120,025

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The Review's English Lesson—IX

SLANG IN COMMON SPEECH

THE passage printed below contains a number of expressions that are regarded as slang. Most of these expressions would not be used by well-educated people, nor would they ever be used in a formal speech.

Yet they are known and used by almost everyone, especially when people discuss forms of dishonesty, as in these two paragraphs adapted from TIME Magazine, November 10, 1947, p. 10. The slang expressions are indicated in the explanations given below, and while you should not use them in your own speaking and writing, it is important that you know what they mean.

"Charity and Good Cheer"

"In *Manhattan* (1)—*a town* (2) whose citizens are well known for being clever — a leisure-loving group of *bums* (3) made a delightful discovery last year. They discovered that life and even love *on the dole* (4) was not such a bad *racket* (5). *A sharp operator* (6) could live in a good hotel room (even when travelers *were being turned away* (7)) and could get generous allowances for restaurant meals simply *by talking fast* (8) and avoiding employment. And he could sometimes live the *good, gay life* (9) for months without hindrance by *the welfare authorities* (10).

"This happy *state of affairs* (11) was just *too good to last* (12). The *NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM* printed embarrassing stories. Then New York's *Republican state government* (13), which contributes *the lion's share* (14) of the relief funds spent by New York City's *Democratic regime* (13), began investigating. Last week, at *a public hearing* (15), the supervisor of the New York State Department of Social Welfare *lifted the racket's lid* (16)."

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1. One of the five parts of New York City, Manhattan is the island on which the city was first built and from which it has spread. Manhattan is the best-known part and contains the busy downtown area that is famous throughout the world.

2. A town is usually a fairly small community. To call Manhattan "a town" is a form of humor because this implies that Manhattan is small, has few people, and has a character very different from that of any other city. Actually, the area of Manhattan is about 30 square miles, its population is almost 2,000,000 people, and legally it is a part of New York City. Very often, as here, Manhattan is used to represent all of New York City, i.e., the island and the four other parts.

3. (Slang) A very common word used in at least four different ways:

a) *Noun:* A man who is lazy or habitually dishonest.

b) *Noun:* A woman of low morals.

c) *Verb:* To get something free from another person, as:
"May I bum a match from you to light my cigarette?"
"He tried to bum 10 dollars from me."

d) *Adjective:* Of low ability or poor quality, as:
".....the archbishop is a bum economist." (See *THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW*, Nov. 15, 1947, p. 347, first column, last line.)

4. "on funds regularly contributed by an organization or a government."

5. (Slang) "system of cheating others for personal gain."

6. (Slang) "one who works in a crafty (bad) or resourceful (good) manner." This expression can be used in either sense.

7. "were being refused admission."

8. (Slang) "by making clever and not entirely truthful explanations."

9. "in an easy and pleasant manner."

10. "the officials in charge of social welfare work."

11. "condition."

12. This is a common superlative expression that makes a negative. We also have "too good to be true"—"Not true." Compare (樂極生悲)

13. In the New York State government, most of the men are in the Republican Party, while in the New York City government, most are in the Democratic Party.

14. "the greatest part."

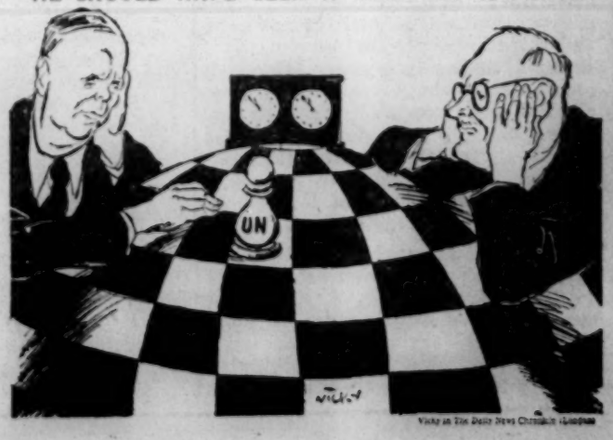
15. "an investigation open to the public."

16. "exposed this system of cheating to the attention of everyone."

Also Antiquated

COLONEL Robert A. McCormick, publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, suggested the United States send China obsolete arms. This would be complementary to the obsolete heads the US has been sending to this country since VJ.

"HE SHOULD HAVE BEEN A KING—NOT A PAWN"



What U.S. Papers Say . . .

AMERICAN aid for China and the UN partition plan for Palestine were the principal topics for editorial comment in American newspapers last week.

• • •

China

STRESSING once again the absolute need for drastic reforms in China, the *New York Herald Tribune* said: "Whatever action is taken should be based on the fact, all too distressingly obvious, that little can be done by Americans for Nanking unless the Chinese Government is modernized. Unless that Government becomes more honest and efficient and more interested in the welfare of its citizens, it will continue to be a poor tool to use in opposing Communism. Using the Nanking regime to oppose the Reds under present conditions is like using a battle ax to attack a man armed with a machine-gun."

"Possibly there is a golden opportunity at present to bring strong pressure for modernization on Nanking by taking advantage of current demands in the United States for aid to China. It might be possible to put through Congress a new type of appropriation that would be a strong inducement to Generalissimo Chiang to heed demands for reform. If a large appropriation for China could be made a conditional appropriation, so that aid would not be given unless there was an assurance that it would be used to advantage, the Generalissimo and his associates might adopt policies that would enable them to defeat the Communists.

"At any rate, whatever method is followed in aid to China, some means must be devised to create within that country an alternative to Communism that is popular and has real elements of strength. A conditional appropriation might have this effect —or some better method might be found. Assistance to China should not be given on a blank check basis but only under conditions that will produce the desired results."

The *Christian Science Monitor* advocated a Europe-first policy. "This newspaper has frequently urged greater awareness and sympathetic understanding of the revolutionary changes taking place in Asia. It has warned that Americans will neglect at their own risk the needs and aspirations of the emerging powers of Asia. But it seriously questions injection of this long-term issue into the immediate debate on Europe.

"The more highly developed countries of Europe still offer the chief dangers to peace as well as the chief hopes for recovery. They register the tensions of world power far more rapidly than does the stirring giant of Asia: the first step in bringing stability is to restore their economies. "Asia will not turn Communist overnight while the United States prepares intelligently to tackle the Asian problem as an integrated whole, including the explosive question of Japanese economic revival. It is useful to remember that Japan in 1941 did not attack through the back door until Europe was already in ruins."

The *Philadelphia Bulletin* joined in, "Current insistence of Republicans in and out of Congress that substantial sums must be allocated for China in any aid program is somewhat puzzling in view of their watch dog eagerness to prevent money from being poured down rat holes. No bigger one than China can be found."

The *Dallas* (Texas) *Morning News*, expressed a different view. "We should give the aid we can to China... More important, we should tie the Far East problem into all our negotiations relative to Europe."

• • •

Palestine

MOST American newspapers hailed the UN Assembly's adoption of the partition plan for Palestine as the best solution possible under present circumstances, but at the same time pointed out that implementation of the plan is beset with serious difficulties.

In the opinion of the *New York Times*, "The award does not go so far, in territorial terms, as most Zionists had hoped. It will grievously disappoint the Arabs. But it is a decision of the United Nations. It is the best decision which that great agency of world opinion was able to discover, and we trust that it will have the willing compliance of the two peoples whose future it involves. Failing that, the Security Council must be courageous enough and resolute enough to supply the necessary means of enforcement."

The *New York Herald-Tribune* said: "The partition plan represents only very rough justice at best.... But there are not infrequently moments in the affairs of men and peoples when some firm answer, however imperfect or even perilous it may be, is better than none.

"Success of the settlement depends very directly on the sincerity with which both the United States and the Soviet Union meet the implications of a policy on which they have been in rare and fortunate agreement. It depends very directly on the willingness of the British to effect their evacuation as fully as possible in accordance with the spirit of this international directive, which they invited for their own relief. It depends, immediately, of course upon the Arab states, and perhaps, upon the statesmanship which the Zionist community can bring to the problem in its new form."

Who's Who in China

WANG KUNG-SHOU, Chinese Consul at Boston, U.S.A.; born at Shanghai, Feb. 26, 1909; graduated from St. John's University, Shanghai, with B.A. degree, 1931; counselor, Weihaiwei

Wang Kung-shou

(王 恭 守)

Municipal Government, 1932-34; graduated from De Paul University, Chicago with M.A. degree, 1936; graduate work, Chicago University, 1935-36; third secretary, Chinese Embassy, Washington D.C., 1937-1944; secretary, Chinese Delegation to the UN General Assembly in 1946 and 1947; Consul at Boston since 1944; Address: Chinese Consulate, Boston, Massachusetts, USA.

Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

"Wrong Way To Find A Needle In A Hay Stack."

What Chinese Papers Say

THE recent shake-up in the Government's military command was hailed by most Chinese papers. The need for winning back the confidence of the people and wiping out corruption was stressed.

* * *

Command Reshuffle

COMMENTING on the appointment of General Fu Tso-yi as Bandit-suppression Commander-in-Chief in North China, the *Sin Wen Pao* pointed out that the Government is doing its best to unify command to defeat the Chinese Communists.

"As a result of developments in the military situation, the Government has positively been making arrangements for stamping out the Communist rebellion. The appointment of General Chen Cheng, Chief of Staff, as director of the President's office in Mukden; National Defence Minister Pai Chung-hsi's taking personal charge of the bandit-suppression headquarters at Kiukiang and the appointment of General Fu Tso-yi as commander-in-chief of north China—all these measures are designed to strengthen unification of command.

"During the past year the Government forces have achieved a series of successes such as the capture of Yenan and Chefoo. However a strict evaluation of the situation will show that the campaign cannot be regarded as completely successful. Naturally, there are many causes for this, but the fact that there has been no unity of command is one of the main causes. Now that the Government has made new arrangements, unification of command can be completely achieved and military efficiency will be enhanced.

"The new appointment of General Fu Tso-yi is a good one. As everybody knows, General Fu during the past 10 years has demonstrated by action that he is an honest, just and cautious man, and that so far as his way of training troops and directing military operations is concerned he may be considered as a famous general of the present generation.

"The Communist bandits know very well the importance of the four North China provinces. Although their lair is far away in northern Shensi, they have always attached great importance to North China, especially the so-called Hopei-Chahar-Shansi border area. The military situation today is such that North China occupies a key position. Therefore, the most important thing to do today is to defend North China and gradually destroy the bases of the bandits so that it will be impossible for them to remain in North China. Only then will it be possible to quell the Communist rebellion once for all.

"However, we wish to point out that success of the bandit-suppression campaign does not depend upon military force alone, but upon political efforts as well. In North China, the Communist bandits have done a great deal politically. While the military effort is important, the winning over of the people in that region will have an even greater effect on the outcome of the fighting."

* * *

Popular Support

THE *Tung Nan Jih Pao* also emphasized that to win back the confidence of the people is of paramount importance.

"We do not agree with the parties of the Opposition in their slander against the Government. They charge that the Government does not want the people or that it has completely lost the confidence of the people. However, one fact is undeniable, that is, that the people are gradually drifting away from the Government.

"Talking about winning back the confidence of the people we wonder whether the Government authorities have the moral courage to blame themselves for the present mess and institute badly-needed reforms."

The *Chin Yung Jih Pao* held a similar view. "Whether the national economy can be stabilized or not depends upon whether the people have confidence in the Government. The confidence of the people is something spontaneous. You cannot get it by force. Nor can you suppress it by force. Now the people have no confidence at all in the Government, and they feel extremely worried about the future. If the Government does not endeavor to win back their confidence how can the present crisis be weathered and an economic collapse averted?

"In order to restore the confidence of the people, the Government must be open-minded and just. If the Government does not try to remove this fundamental cause of the people's psychological illness, enforcement of drastic measures regardless of consequences will make the government further forfeit the confidence of the people. In other words, it will do more harm than good," the paper warned.

The *Tung Nan Jih Pao* called attention to the political aspect of the anti-Communist war and objected to the appointment of army men to replace civilian district magistrates for fear of losing the confidence of the people.

"The problem today is not a purely military one and the bandit suppression campaign certainly cannot be brought to a successful conclusion by force alone. Today, it is said that the winning of the people's confidence is of vital importance. What we hope for is that whether at the front or in the rear those in charge of political administration will all pay attention to the living conditions of the people. Success or failure of this depends entirely upon whether the personnel appointed are the right type of people or not.... True, there are some army men who are politically minded. We do not object to their being appointed as administrative officials. But those who are Simon pure military men are not suited for administrative posts, even the war zone."

* * *

Corruption

Commenting on Government Information Director Hollington Tong's report on corruption, the *Chien Hsin Jih Pao* said: "The statistics released for publication by Dr. Tong are of greater significance than the exposure of some sensational cases of corruption. Our common sense tells us that the number of corruption cases not yet discovered must double the official figure. To this must be added the corruption on the part of the "hsien" and "pao" chiefs....This means that the total number of public functionaries involved in corruption cases during the past two and a half years must be around 100,000. This really is a serious administrative problem.

"In discussing the problem of corruption, most people advocate severe punishments for the culprits. But as is well-known today 'severe punishments' are meted out only to small fry. High-placed Government officials who have manipulated the market can do anything with impunity...."

The Catholic *Yi Shih Pao* said that there is some connection between the fight against corruption and American aid.

"While there has been a great deal of talk about the movement for U.S. aid to China, yet the actions which have been taken in this connection are still far from sufficient to meet our needs. Why is this, after all? Although different people have different views on the matter, yet to be just, we must say that it is due less to the fact that the United States Government attaches greater importance to Europe than to China than to the fact that it has no confidence in the Chinese Government. In short, what the United States Government is most worried about is the corruption of the Chinese Government and the fear that American aid for China will be wasted. Unless Chinese politics is improved such fear is quite natural.

"The other day, Dr. Hollington Tong reported that according to statistics compiled by the Ministry of Justice during the past two and a half years ending June, 1947, the total number of corruption cases which have been handled by the courts throughout the country is 16,794, involving as many as 17,454 public functionaries. He said that this figure does not include those cases the trials of which have not yet been completed.

"It must be conceded that the Government has done much to eliminate corruption and to promote honesty among the Government officials. However, if it wants to yield important results in this connection, it must have a stronger determination."

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Objective Indictment

REPORT FROM SPAIN. *By Emmet John Hughes. New York, Henry Holt, 1947. 323 pages, index, US $3.00. Reviewed by F. M. Roberts.*

SPAIN's dictatorship and problems have been relegated to the background in the daily press and periodicals, but it is well for democrats of the world to recall that the techniques of dictatorship show a pattern, and that repression and control follow hard upon certain national conditions and events. No armistice follows a war of ideas. So Spain remains important because she is potentially and actually important in the struggle between democracy and dictatorship.

The report from Spain under review explains these patterns. It is too soon for the world to forget the civil war in Spain, how it sacrificed liberals, how it drew in outside forces. The newer issues of Europe and Asia have not really displaced the issue of Franco's dictatorship; they are part of the same picture—the conflict of our time between two systems of political life. Too few have studied the pattern behind the Spanish troubles—the land and the peasants upon it, a disintegrating middle class, foreign interference in domestic affairs, a vocal minority, the power of a dictator with an army.

The author of this book, now chief of the Time-Life Bureau in Rome, was press attache of the American embassy and observer for American intelligence in Madrid between August, 1942, and May, 1946. His career therefore covered the period of the Allied landings in North Africa. The book is a cold, objective indictment of the Franco regime and makes close, slow reading.

Mr. Hughes is himself a Roman Catholic, but he is severe toward the Roman Catholic authorities for their unhappy role under Franco. He appraises the economic, military and political policies of Franco, especially in relation to the Axis and the Allied countries during the war. Franco had been in power only five months when Germany attacked Poland. Sympathetic as he was to the Axis political philosophy, there was skilled strategy in his playing off of the Axis and the Allies against one another.

The importance of Spain's neutrality during the entire North African campaign can scarcely be overestimated. Military historians may agree with Hermann Goering that Germany's failure to drive through Spain, overwhelm Gibraltar, cut the Allied supply lines by sea and attack the Allied rear in North Africa was the fatal blunder of the war for Germany. Mr. Hughes shows that Franco was mistrustful of German intervention, interested first of all in maintaining his own power.

The chapters on propaganda and the security system of the state show how Franco and the Falangists have played upon the temperamental characteristics of the people, upon their fears of Communism, of violence, of the loss of property.

NOTICE

The General Agency agreement between

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will be cancelled effective

thirty (30) days from this date.

PHILIPPINE AIR LINES, INC.

December 9, 1947

Grief And Praise

THE ROSE TREE. *By Robert Payne. New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1947. 155 pages. U.S. $2.50. Reviewed by F. M. Roberts.*

THOSE who know Robert Payne's book *Forever China* remember how in that philosophical dairy the young English correspondent for the *London Times* saw China with the eye of a painter, how by a lyric quality he evoked moods which are more frequent in poetry than in prose. These same qualities are found also in his novels, *Torrents of Spring*, the story of a Chinese family, and *David and Anna*. One critic has described his novels as poetic reveries.

With such richness of imagery and description in his prose, it is no surprise to discover Payne publishing a book of poetry. Nor, remembering his experiences in China from 1941 to 1944, is it surprising to find an overwhelming preoccupation with death in all its aspects. In his poem *Homer*, Payne writes.

> "May I, camp follower to the same old wars,
>
> Write now, deafened and blinded as Homer was."

His group of poems *For a Chinese Soldier* was written for a dead soldier at Changsha, but also for all dead and dying soldiers he saw on every road in China. In his notes the poet says, "The poet's task in our time is neither to pity nor to warn, but to praise what remains to be praised, remembering that all life, vigor and grace are holy, and that the saints are nearer to God than the angels . . . grief can be prayer, and prayer is always praise." Payne gives in these poems his grief and his praise.

Other poems from China are *Song for a Martyr, China, July 1946*, a poem to the memory of Professor Wen Yi-tuo of Kunming, and *Yenan*.

From the poems for a Chinese soldier comes *Epitaph*.

> Here on this edge of China among the hills
> Lies one unknown who built with his own hands
> This small and perfect tower of jade-blue stone,
> And would have lived to build another tower
> Of green and golden beeches, a few great trees
> To shade the passer-by against the winds,
> But the wind blew him down and he has gone
> Into a small and perfect tower of bone.

The first poem which gives the name to the volume is the high emotional point of the book. This elegy for Franklin Delano Roosevelt has a nobility of form and thought which makes it comparable to Walt Whitman's elegy for Abraham Lincoln. There is more than beauty of style in the best of these poems—there is faith and pity and passion.

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TIME TABLE

72	4	76	6	8	78	2	10	12	16	TRAIN NO.	1	5	15	7	71	9	9	11	75	77
"Tai Hu" Express	I, II Triumph Exp.	II, III Local	I, II III Exp.	I, II Exp.	II, III Local Exp.	I, II Nanking Throu. Exp.	I, II III Night Exp.	I, II Night Exp.	I, II III Night Exp.	STATIONS	I, II Hangchow Throu. Exp.	I, II III Exp.	I, II III Exp.	I, II Exp.	"Tai Hu" Express	I, II Triumph Exp.	I, II III Night Exp.	I, II Night Exp.	II, III Local	II, III Local Exp.
8.30	7.00	7.30	9.00	11.00	12.15	13.30	21.50	23.00	23.30	D SHANGHAI NORTH A	14.45	16.25	18.25	19.35	22.20	22.45	6.35	8.00	10.25	17.10
		8.55	10.16	12.14	13.48		23.27		0.56	D KUNSHAN D		15.24	17.09	18.22			5.28		8.34	16.05
10.13	8.41	9.42	10.57	12.57	14.29	15.17	0.20	1.06	1.43	A SOOCHOW D	13.06	14.38	16.23	17.36	20.31	21.06	4.38	5.39	7.10	15.19
10.18	8.48	9.49	11.08	13.04	14.36	15.26	0.27	1.13	1.55	D SOOCHOW A	12.59	14.19	16.17	17.23		20.58	4.32	5.19	7.04	15.09
11.10	9.36	10.45	11.57	13.55	15.35	16.14	1.22	2.08	2.50	A WUSIH D	12.11	13.24	15.14	16.29	19.35	20.10	3.39	4.26	6.00	14.10
	9.42		12.06	14.02		16.23	1.29	2.15	3.00	D A	12.04	13.18	15.08	16.21		20.03	3.33	4.19		
	10.31		12.59	15.03		17.09	2.27	3.13	4.05	A CHANGCHOW D	11.17	12.22	14.05	15.20		19.16	2.35	3.30		
	10.40		13.08	15.15		17.19	2.37	3.25	4.13	D A	11.06	12.09	13.55	15.08		19.06	2.24	3.20		
	11.38		14.00	16.13			3.56	4.29	5.16	A TANYANG D		11.09	12.41	14.05		18.12	1.07	2.03		
	11.41		14.03	16.17			4.00	4.33	5.20	D A		11.05	12.37	13.55		18.03	1.02	2.00		
	12.18		14.40	17.01		18.46	4.46	5.18	6.02	A CHINKIANG D	9.32	10.28	11.44	13.07		17.23	0.09	1.07		
	12.25		14.45	17.17		18.53	4.55	5.27	6.09	D WEST A	9.24	10.21	11.38	12.59		17.15	23.56	1.00		
	13.55		16.10	18.50		20.20	6.30	7.10	7.50	A NANKING D	8.00	9.00	10.00	11.00		15.45	22.00	23.00		

FARE LIST

STATIONS	Kilo.	I Class Ordinary Express		II Class Ordinary Express		III Class Ordinary Express		"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses I	"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses II	"Tai Hu" Express
SHANGHAI N. TO:—										
KUNSHAN	52	30,000.	44,000.	16,000.	22,000.	8,000.	12,000.			
SOOCHOW	87	44,000.	58,000.	22,000.	30,000.	12,000.	16,000.	142,000.	84,000.	142,000.
WUSIH	129	72,000.	88,000.	36,000.	44,000.	18,000.	22,000.	142,000.	84,000.	156,000.
CHANGCHOW	168	88,000.	116,000.	44,000.	58,000.	22,000.	30,000.	142,000.	84,000.	
TANYANG	213	116,000.	144,000.	58,000.	72,000.	30,000.	36,000.	174,000.	102,000.	
CHINKIANG WEST	243	130,000.	160,000.	66,000.	80,000.	34,000.	40,000.	192,000.	112,000.	
NANKING	312	130,000.	160,000.	66,000.	80,000.	34,000.	40,000.	192,000.	112,000.	

SHANGHAI - HANGCHOW LINE
TIME TABLE

23	21	61	67	25	1	41	27	TRAIN NO.	24	42	2	68	26	22	62	28
I, II III Exp.	West Lake Exp.	II, III Ord.	IV Mixed	I, II III Exp.	I, II H'chow Throu. Exp.	II, III Ord.	I, II III Exp.	STATIONS	I, II III Exp.	II, III Ord.	I, II N'king Throu. Exp.	IV Mixed	I, II III Exp.	West Lake Exp.	II, III IV Ord.	I, II III Exp.
6.45	8.00	8.15		11.30	16.00	16.15	22.45	D SHANGHAI NORTH A	9.15	12.15	12.35		18.55	20.05	22.30	23.30
7.05	8.16	8.36	9.00	11.53	16.19	16.36	23.06	D SHANGHAI WEST D	8.58	11.55	12.20	17.20	18.37	19.49	22.13	23.12
7.49		9.46	10.29	12.38	17.03	17.46	23.50	A D	7.51	10.44	11.26	15.29	17.48		21.00	22.16
7.54		9.56	10.40	12.43	17.08	17.51	23.55	D SUNGKIANG A	7.47	10.38	11.21	15.22	17.39		20.54	22.11
9.02	10.02	11.40	12.50	13.50	18.16	19.23	1.06	A D	6.35	9.04	10.13	13.10	16.20	17.54	19.25	21.00
9.16	10.08	11.50	13.15	13.58	18.26	19.33	1.16	D KASHING A	6.28	8.55	10.04	12.45	16.11	17.47	19.12	20.50
10.00		12.33	14.52	14.32	19.01	20.16	1.50	D YEHZAH D	5.56	8.14	9.31	11.53	15.39		18.29	20.18
10.31		13.18	15.56	15.04	19.32	21.01	2.21	A D	5.23	7.27	8.58	10.40	15.06		17.42	19.34
10.36		13.26	16.10	15.11	19.37	21.06	2.26	D CHANGAN-TSENG A	5.19	7.22	8.54	10.27	15.02		17.37	19.27
11.30	11.55	14.45	18.10	16.20	20.30	22.20	3.35	A HANGCHOW D	4.25	6.10	8.00	8.30	14.00	16.00	16.25	18.25

FARE LIST

STATIONS	Kilo.	I Class Ordinary Express		II Class Ordinary Express		III Class Ordinary Express		"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses I	"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses II	"West Lake" Express
SHANGHAI N. TO:—										
SUNGKIANG	45	30,000.	44,000.	16,000.	22,000.	8,000.	12,000.	142,000.	84,000.	
KASHING	99	58,000.	72,000.	30,000.	36,000.	16,000.	18,000.	142,000.	84,000.	142,000.
YEHZAH	126	72,000.	88,000.	36,000.	44,000.	18,000.	22,000.	142,000.	84,000.	
CHANGANTSENG	151	88,000.	116,000.	44,000.	58,000.	22,000.	30,000.	142,000.	84,000.	
HANGCHOW	190	88,000.	116,000.	44,000.	58,000.	22,000.	30,000.	142,000.	84,000.	156,000.

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